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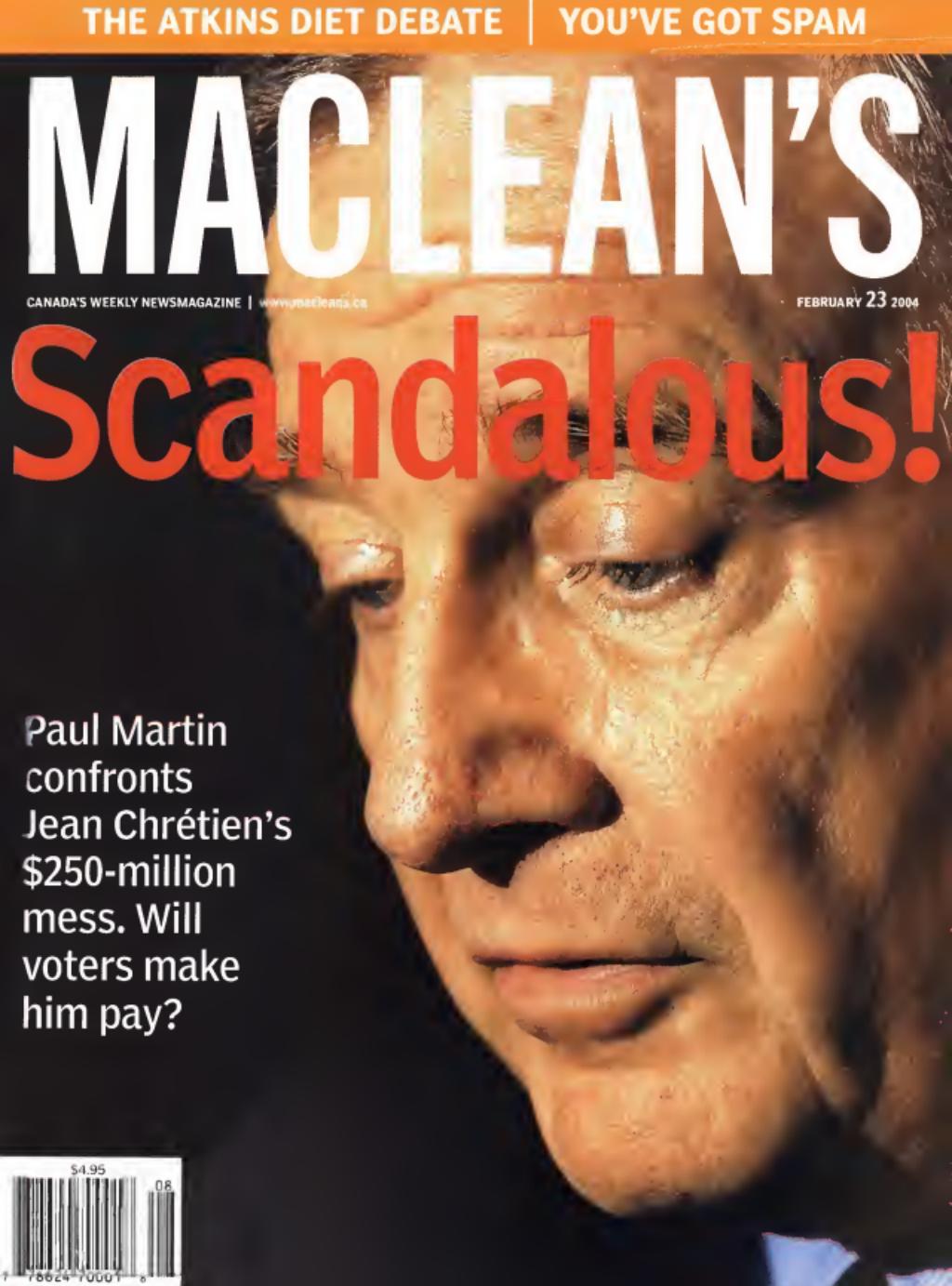
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MACLEAN'S

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE | www.macleans.ca

FEBRUARY 23 2004

Scandalous!

A close-up, high-contrast portrait of Paul Martin, the Canadian Prime Minister. He is looking slightly to the left of the camera with a serious expression. His skin is textured and shows signs of age. The lighting is dramatic, with strong highlights and shadows.

Paul Martin
confronts
Jean Chrétien's
\$250-million
mess. Will
voters make
him pay?

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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SCANDALOUS!

Paul Martin inherited Jean Chrétien's \$256-million mess. What political price will he pay?

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A ONE-PARTY DEMOCRACY

Jean Chrétien wanted to win in Quebec in the worst way. That's exactly what he did.

IN THE LATE 1980S, when I was based in the old Seven Union, I had a Russian friend who was a devout but feckless member of the Communist party. He used to argue persistently that communism provided the only alternative his country needed, because it offered a big, wet under which people of all sorts of social stripes could gather together. The Communist party, he said, was capable of dramatic mutation all that really interested

ultra-left was that it never got power. At that end, it would periodically change direction, resuscitate its past, replace its lead on, and do whatever else seemed necessary to survive and thrive. The other defining link throughout was that the needs of the party, the people and the country were presumed to be interchangeable and absolute: what was good for one was automatically presumed to be good for all.

I used to tell him that in a democracy, such specious logic would never fly—but these days, as a Canadian, it's hard to stay quiet. We've often seen scandals and name-calling in Ottawa over the years—but few scandals of the magnitude of the new revelations of Liberal patronage under Jean Chrétien, and none where the most ardent slinging comes from members of the same party. As John Geddes reports (page 88), "By fanning the issue as an extension of his long-standing feud with Chrétiens, Martin made this a scandal unlike any other. Past corruption controversies have pitted the governing party against those in opposition. This one now has the additional dimension of a massive split between Liberals."

Beyond the titillating scale of patronage, the real crisis lies in the damage the Liberals have done to the entire political process as well as to themselves. Martin was impressive in detailing steps the government will take to deal with past shenanigans—but less so in making clear what he knew and when he knew it. Perhaps his most appropriate punishment, then, would be for visitors to acutely accept his explanation that—despite being a Quebecer, the man in charge of government spending and the second-most powerful person in government—he had little idea of events unfolding around him. Ignorance on that scale is

"
The needs of the party and the country are presumed to be identical. What's good for one is thus good for all.

plain for an iconic agenda, no punishment could be more exasperating than to be sent off as irrelevant.

Chrétiens always wanted to win in Quebec in the worst way—so he did just that, leading a now insuring to the phrase "probable federalism" for supporters within the province. He's thus given beleaguered use enough of their best weapon in peace. The biggest gap against the former PM until now was that he lasted several years longer than he should—and in doing so, tarnished his legacy. Now we learn that even if he'd gone a couple of years earlier, there would still be this issue as his record that time will never erase. Canada's version of democracy has seen much healthier periods than the present. And since we're out there, my Russian friend is laughing heartily.

Anthony Wilson-Smith

rwilsonsmith@maclean.ca to comment on The Editor's Letter

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"You need to realize that you have declined to provide for your security, preferring to depend on the U.S. while you prattle on about lofty social goals." —Mary McLennan, Autauga, Ala.

ups were turned off. Because I have our Western lifestyle very much I, for one, want those up in fields in the Middle East protected. We need a man like Bush in power to kick ass and preserve the American way of life—because, like it or not, when America is under threat, so are we.

Maria Hig, Vancouver

President Bush has something Canadians know little about: the gas tax. He's a division. Brian Hayes, Estevan, Sask.

As a dual Canadian and American citizen who has lived in the U.S. for 25 years, I feel that many Americans are "Americanistic" and are ignorant or unconcerned about world opinion. From Bush's ignorance regarding the war on Iraq to his energy and environmental policies that will leave future generations bankrupt, this president is leading America on the wrong path.

Paul McCarter, Mississauga, Ont.

What were you thinking? To use such a reverent name as that Canada has to equate to stand firmly with the U.S. Here in New Brunswick we need the so-called exports and in the West they need the beef. We all know that the majority of Canadians do not think highly of the President, but you should have used discretion with that article.

Shelley Parget, Fredericton, N.B.

Count me among the 15 per cent who admire President Bush and support him in election. Forgive me for admitting some whose primary priority is protecting the status quo in the U.S. and to a lesser extent those of the world's oppressed.

Michael Rostad, Duluth, Minn.

In spite of all the hatred, we remain the most forgiving nation on the planet. When earthquakes wreak loss and communities, we are there with blankets, water, sandwiches and care teams. When countries are openly attacked, we are there to defend the people and help them take back their country. When a country is faced with famine, we are there

to offer aid and moral imagery to challenge the pomposity and arrogance of the executives running the U.S. Never in my life have I been more proud to be a Canadian.

Robert R. Stewart, Mississauga, Ont.

I doubt President Bush would be terribly angry that Canadians don't like him. It is Canada's enduring shame that we stood silent on the sidelines, content to let Saddam's torture and murder continue because we didn't like Bush's handshake. Oh, but can we but on the Iraq rebuilding contract and make some money—please, oh, please, please, please?

Terry Edwards, Newmarket, Ont.

Thank you for the article on Canadian perspectives of George W. Bush. I concur with you the sentiment is much the same for Canadians living abroad.

Laurel Patterson, Mississauga, Ont.

As a Canadian living in the U.S., I think President Bush shouldn't be concerned for one moment that whether Canadians feel better off since he took office. He is not the prime minister of Canada. He is the President of the United States, with the duty of making decisions that he feels are best for his country—not the country to the north or south.

Douglas McRae, Kitchener, Ont.

George W. Bush does not command the respect of Canadians because we see him primarily for what it is: an obvious fraud. Thanks to Jean Chrétien's decision to stay out of the Bush administration, but you should have retained our objectivity on the Bush administration. Presenting that everything is going well while Dubya continues to defend his mission is the greatest disservice we could ever inflict on our American friends. Blame Canada only for telling it like it is.

Tom Bremner, Toronto

Let's be clear: at last George W. Bush stood up for what was right. Few in the world could be as glad as Jean Chrétien and many of this country's citizens. That constant and Americanism is needless and it can't help but wonder if it's the final gasp of a nation that has lost its character and relevance.

Alan Belkin, Amherstburg, Ont.

You have really hit a new low with this one! We may all have our opinion about President

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Many Americans also hope that Bush tries

to face down the world's irresponsible ones: were Americans being dragged around the streets, and I'm repudiated with a reminder from the North, Kosovo, Rwanda, we were there. Then came 9/11. The world saw the destruction that terrorism can bring, and it stood up and did nothing.

John Reiter, Toronto, Ont.

I know my country. But if someone doesn't beat Bush in November, I may be heading up north, eh?

Mary Criswell, Novato, Calif.

As an American (in fact) and a Democrat who's proud he stood for Al Gore last time out, I find your article the best argument for giving the son of a bitch a second term I've read in the three years he's been in office.

Rich Lanza, New York City

I am sure the President is not doing sleep about his Canadian electoral choices. How many electoral votes does Canada have anyway? Steve O'Connor, Rose, Ia.

I am afraid of being told that Canada has should avoid creating the policies of the U.S. government: forces of economic redistribution. I suspect that Canadians have the thought

Bush, but your magazine crossed the bound
ary of respect for another country to personal
insult. Last time I checked, we did not vote
in the U.S. That your survey and amateurish
editorial stance is abhorrent. Don't you think
Americans would have expressed a similar
opinion about our former prime minister
Jean Chrétien?

Dexter Hinds (66), Guelph, Ont.

I found your cover story to be overly
provocative and ill informed.

Harry Belkin, Toronto

Rules of morality

I have the honour and privilege of being
the sergeant major of the 3 BCT Parasutte
Company currently deployed in Kabul. To
appraise you, as Scott Taylor did in "Tragedy
in Kabul" (Afghanistan, Feb. 9), that the
Canadians' contingent's Rules of Engagement
are "too restrictive" is false. It also
erodes the very core of moral honour and
responsibility we have for our men. We
are morally and professionally obligated to
allow the commander on the ground—which
could be a private in some instances—to
make his own decisions on the weapons in
quand to match the threat at any given
time. We, spending at least half of our time
and NCOs of the Parasutte Company, will
never place our men at a disadvantage to
any type of threat.

Sgt-Maj Wayne Hartlett, Kabul, Afghanistan

Something to sneeze at

Do you prohibit those who fail to sneeze
people ("Nothing to sneeze at," Easy, Feb.
9)? The fact that Pompei Province would enter
a hospital with who may have been a con-
tagious flu, despite the hospital posting a
notice requesting that she do exactly the op-
posite, says something about her lack of re-
gard for others. It's not only rude, it's
not enough to sneeze in another person's
face. Disease is spread that way. Perhaps if
Mr. Pearson washed his hands more often,
she would catch colds less.

Matt Weston, Dehradoon, Alta.

If first is best

Your definition of a good leader ("What it
takes to lead," Mississauga on the Record,
Feb. 9) is having the ability to inspire confi-
dence, to motivate, to know where you want
to go and to convince others to follow, is
right on. The problem with current leaders
is that their leadership is so often not where
the people want to go, but where I want to
go—in what serves the country's elite
 élites. Steven Whitehead, Salt Spring Island, B.C.



A soldier writes from Afghanistan to discuss the protection provided for Canadian troops

preservation and die. Did he consider this? Or, if someone like my husband who has
chronic bronchitis was in contact with her,
he could develop severe bronchitis in a cou-
ple of days. Did she consider this? Instead,
she says we suffer from social nervousness and
anxiety. No, we would just like to avoid people
who have a cold so that we may be able
to enjoy our lives as much as we can.

Power Wealth, Burnaby

Offshore accounting

I find it rather troubling that the Prime Minister was too busy campaigning on the pub-
lic how his company received more than
\$160 million in grants and concessions rather
than the \$117,000 he admitted was year ago
("Overnight," Ondrej, Feb. 6). For those
counting acres, that's 1,000 per cent more.

Beth A. April, Victoria

The real museum story

I am writing with respect to a letter by Lois Hushnawi ("The real museum story," The Mail, Jan. 28), which was written in response to the novel by Joy Kogawa inspired by the
article about the project to save Kogawa's
childhood home in Vancouver. Contrary to
the letter, the project was not ill-conceived and
does not involve creating a one-
room in her honour. I amified, it's not Kogawa,
and the project involves creating a winter-residence where visitors of all ages
may work and dialogue with others.

Chris Katt MA, Toronto

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JULY



WORKING TO THE TOP

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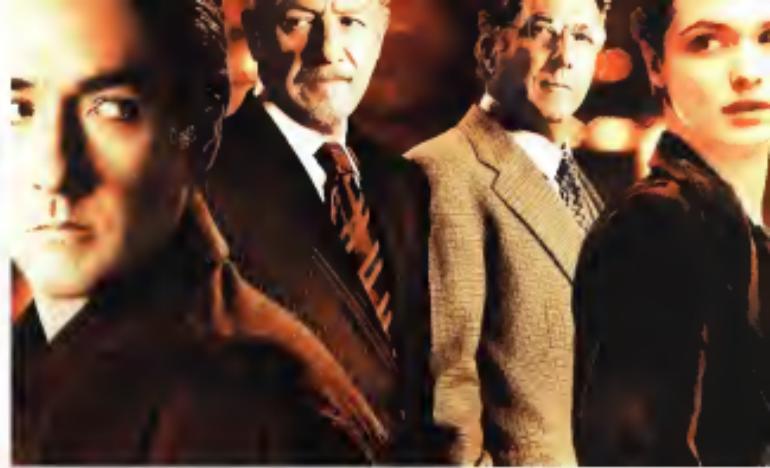
MacKenzie's annual reveals the list of Canada's top 100 places to work based as a list created by Mediacorp Canada Inc., the company that publishes the fall-book edition of *Canada's Top 100 Employers*. "We write our book each year from the point of view of the job seekers," the book tells which employers are the best to work for and why, "but doesn't get into how HR managers can put these programs into place. Our two-day conference in March is where this kind of technical discussion takes place," says Tony Meissen, Mediacorp's publisher.

The conference includes a panel discussion with the media: "Why Good Employers Now Make the Headlines." The conversation will be moderated by Maclean's Assistant Managing Editor James Deacon who this year oversaw the Canada's Top 100 Employers cover story (Oct. 28, 2001). National business correspondent Katherine MacLean (who wrote the cover story) will be one of the journalists participating in the panel.

"As the boomers start retiring, the size of the Canadian workforce is tightening, which means employees can demand more from their employers," says Meddens. "Even readers who aren't looking for a new job enjoy this issue because they want to know what their contemporaries are getting at other places of work. And they like to compare their own situation with what's considered best practice in the country."

Says Meehan: "By showing and describing what excellent employers do, Mackenzie is raising the bar for companies that want to treat their employees well. Working Canadians are seeking improvements in things like vacation policies, better family-friendly benefits and new community involvement programs."

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ScoreCard

▲ Shanta Bhawal

News of the suicide general's report: all bad, but the righteous rage with which it was delivered added at least some insulation to a sorry week. Good to know, at the time the coach, some cell phoneists still have respect for the public service.

■ **Jean Chardiet**: escaped into retirement in advance of most damning auditor general's report (in readers memory) that his 10-year average is an ugly pattern of fraud, breach of trust and money laundering. He, his party and former government have much to answer for. Think of it, Mr. Chardiet, as your legacy of profit.

► **Paul Martin**
Pre-election checklist:
(1) I will sponsor the
new campaign. Que
bec wings of Christine
Liberato, (2) ignore
fact you drink Quirky
Liberato, (3) make peace
with tonight's wing of
party—despite got the
cash, (4) consider
"Hey I think I'll be
Finance minister" as
campaign slogan.

► **CBC**
Tengku-Kit-Sue
Cherry with seven-
second tape delay
Should make for
plenty of dead air on
Saturday nights, eh,
Cherry-bop? Especially
if Mother Clap-hans
overlaid them French
guitar to play common

A Common sense
Scientists have
flashed their night-
glasses-in-dark water
effect down the drain.
Transparent models have
confounded, while people
need salty drink when
they're thirsty. Expected
surge in world arms
distracts us from
the real problem.



Hockey | Going for goals – by going after the goalie

In hockey, matching with the postgame usually goes two ways: Colin Campbell will insist he could get off easily. The NHL vice-president finds home/It's a fair way home/ as he defends the league's proposed rule changes, aimed at increasing offence, yet disproportionately focused on the one position dedicated entirely to defense—the goalie. Practically every netminder who found himself in front of a mischievous last-walk-and-you-got-the-sense-a-few-were-looking—when on the offensive themselves, looking out at the distinctly adverse to stay guides from handling the puck, and to run down on the size of their mauling.



more charges. Campbell (shown), trying to stop the revelation that Jacques Plante started and Marty Brodeur (top) perfected

changes are small. So we now wonder whether the new plan would merely serve to enlarge defensives, who will be forced to narrow and/or dampen under relentless firechecking. "It's going to be like having the Hanlon brothers coming at you," said Deane. So we are back to the Chris Phillips reference to the famed goals of Sledger.

Other proposed "infrastructures"—enlarging the natural zone and expanding the housing area by moving back the new-build zone to the present. But the entire debate is focussing against the backdung of base, pre-beginning planning because the league itself is playing a Relentlessly worsened link week when the observers witnessed the findings of a specially commissioned report: corroborating their claims of spectacular losses—19 NHL clubs were said to have dropped 3.4 million fans last year—due to high player salaries. All told, it's a shrewd strategy to win the game—albeit, if the league wants the players to keep at it. Playing the golden game's going to help either. **CHARLES SELLERS**

Quote of the week | 'Fat is now the new tobacco.' DR. ANTHONY GRAHAM of the Canadian Heart and Stroke Foundation, explaining that, while cigarette smoking has declined significantly over 30 years, its closest relative has replaced it as the silent killer.



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UPFRONT

Mary Janigan | ON THE ISSUES



COZING UP TO THE YANKS

Quietly, Canadian and American officials are discussing further integration

CANADIANS are so captivated with George W. Bush that few politicians dare to speak about Canada-U.S. ties. The topic was never even an afterthought when the final paragraphs of the Speech from the Throne, recited under the officially vague heading of "Canada's role in the world," the almost visceral reaction to the U.S. President has caused any overt attempts to draw ties into political suicide on the brink of a spring election.

And that makes what is going on behind the scenes all the more astonishing. Politicians may be coy, but bureaucrats are quietly drawing plans for clear cuts across multiple areas. Ottawa's Canadian Centre for Management Development is even offering an eight-month course for top bureaucrats on how to take account of Canada-U.S. concerns in daily decisions. (In keeping with Ottawa's below-the-radar approach, this course cannot be found on its Web site.) "It's a priority within the bureaucracy, the preoccupation of most departments," says Tom d'Agostino, president of the Canadian Council of Chief Executives. "Next year, we will be able to point to initiatives when we have moved forward."

Consider the following:

- The U.S. is amenable to a determination to become its borders. That could spell huge trouble for exporters. Last month, U.S. officials began to photograph and fingerprint all visa visitors arriving at U.S. airports and 14 ports. By the end of this year, that program is to be extended to fit 90 business and tourism visas. That could lead to catastrophic backups—no public

Safety Minister Anne McLellan is secretly trying to find a compromise with her U.S. counterpart Tom Ridge. The idea is: we'll use the treasury laws, such as increased monitoring of thoroughly untroubled Great Lakes, and they will work harder at preventing border delays.

- Both nations are looking their way to stand an iron-gated North American energy strategy. For the U.S., it means security of supply, for Canada, it means assured markets, which will provide the capital to forge fuel, natural gas pipelines, northern pipelines, and oil sands plants. Both talk about the creation of national plans in public- and semi-nationalized deals in private.

■ There is talk of an expansive natural resources deal covering everything from agriculture to mining. This could be stretched to include softwood lumber, which might shield that product from the application of U.S. trade remedy laws, and agricultural products such as wheat. To cope with road congestion, the two countries are now developing a common approach to everything from carpool to trucking.)

■ Defense officials are talking about the fast extraction of NORAD from the air force to the navy. Our chips are already incompatible with U.S. chips; they have planned from the Persian Gulf wars with U.S. carrier battle groups. That would make it official.

■ The two are mulling the possibility of joint regulatory approaches for pharmaceuticals and other prod. (Each now has a separate drug approval process.)

The more immediate problem, of course, is U.S. pre-emptiveness, which always erupts before a presidential election. d'Agostino is leading 100 Canadian CEOs in Washington in mid-April to remind Americans of the economic importance of the ties for both countries. But, when decisions are over, no matter who wins, look for more retribution. □

Mary Janigan is a political and policy writer. mary.janigan@canadiancourier.com

FaceTime



Friendship

Twenty years ago, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor and her first wife, Marjorie, made each other a promise: when they were the lottery king and the lottery queen for a million dollars, they would contribute to the U.S. Fund for United Nations peacekeeping.

The repaid promise: Marjorie, a former high school teacher in Payson, Ariz., was 100% eligible in the Super 7 lottery, the first people they called were to the Marjorie's. The cheque, they send, will sit in the mud.



Friendship

Marjorie made such an impression holding on to get her last hand. Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, the first female Supreme Court Justice, has been a friend to Justice Sandra Day O'Connor since the two were in law school together. They are now 60, and are still close.

It's influence that makes Ginsburg, as a candidate when she was on the state court of appeals, to consider her. The friends are often invited to her home, though it's hard to imagine, given her husband's celebrated deportment from the U.S. Supreme Court. Ruth was suspended from Penn after he stepped into the Softshell, and that is not a metaphor: the Supreme Court has gone to the Supreme Court of Appeals, which he served as an associate magistrate in Alabama.



Courtship

Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer, the first еврейский Supreme Court Justice, and his wife, Harriet, who made her mark as a personalizing international war criminal, is being invited to return to the world stage at the United Nations peacekeeping.

The repaid promise: Harriet, a former member of the Canadian Senate, was 100% eligible in the Super 7 lottery, the first people they called were to the Marjorie's. The cheque, they send, will sit in the mud.



Friendship

Friendship is a family Democratic opportunity. Senator John Kerry, from a small Italian family, was a friend of William F. Buckley Jr., an increasingly defensive White House spokesman during the Clinton administration.

It's influence that makes Antonin Scalia, the second Italian Supreme Court Justice, a friend to Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, the first female Supreme Court Justice. The friends are often invited to her home, though it's hard to imagine, given her husband's celebrated deportment from the U.S. Supreme Court. Ruth was suspended from Penn after he stepped into the Softshell, and that is not a metaphor: the Supreme Court has gone to the Supreme Court of Appeals, which he served as an associate magistrate in Alabama.

IRAQ Just days after U.S. authorities released what they called al Qaeda's commando unit seeking to foment sectarian war between Iraqi Muslims, two deadly suicide bombings on successive days killed 100 Iraqis, mostly Shiites. Targeted were a group of men seeking to end a police force in a city 100 miles south of Baghdad, and another living up to earlier threats in the new Iraqi arena.

UM ministers, meanwhile, met with influential clerics. Abdallah and other clerics agreed with his call for direct elections—but were uncertain they would be carried out before the planned U.S. transfer of power to an interim committee, a key demand.

1980 FLU A supposedly milder strain of the avian flu that has devastated poultry farms throughout Southeast Asia has hit chicken operations in three U.S. states: Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Officials have quarantined 80 poultry farms.

MIDDLE EAST Opening a big diplomatic door, Prince Charles toured the earthquake-dev

Mohammed Shahzad - the first visit to Britain by British royal since the revolution in 1858. In other developments, Indian Prince



would allow humans to infect computers or unplug us from them. The last time Microsoft issued such a warning, India's response with the Internet slowing Sality virus

RELIGION: By a vote of 494 to 36, French parliamentarians overwhelmingly passed a ban to prevent any religious head covering and other religious apparel from public schools. The law still must pass the Senate.

RUSSIA President Vladimir Putin officially launched his election campaign by lamenting the demise of the old Soviet Union. Meanwhile, opposition opponent Ivan Rybkin, who went missing for five days, turned up in Ukraine. He later said he had been held there, and dragged and subjected by the pro-Putin Russian secret police.

ABD—The UN said it is mounting one of its largest ever food relief efforts for North Korea and that about 1.3 million people have been reached—down from the nearly 5 million it has been helping. More has been pledged, but won't arrive until April.

BUSINESS

TRADE: OPEC made a surprise 10 per cent cut in oil production, which seems painless given



ON FIRE
Simmering anti-government unrest finally boiled over in Haiti, where armed rebels took over nearly a dozen towns, killed magistrates and burning... about 50 people have been killed in the uprising against President Jean Bertrand Aristide, the once-popular ex-candidate who has been ruling by decree since February 1991 without a functioning legislature.



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UPFRONT

will remain high for the foreseeable future.

The World Trade Organization expected long-sounding U.S. complaints that the Canadian Wheat Board is an unfair state monopoly, but said Canada must change some grain and freight rules.

REDEVELOPMENT A railroad rival and even a French-punk band have entered the fray to buy Conrad Black's multi-linked papers, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Sunday Telegraph*—part of a larger group Black is helping to sell to the Mercury brothers.

Look out, Mickey! Philadelphia-based cable giant Comcast Corp. made a surprise bid of roughly US\$54 billion to take over the sprawling *Wall Street Journal* empire, a move that could transform the TV landscape.

Rogers Communications Inc., Canada's largest cable company, says it is finally ready to go head-to-head with Bell Canada by adding Internet-based phone service to its customers in Ontario and Eastern Canada over the next two years.

CANADA

MAD COW The Canadian Food Inspection Agency and its peers, *not* Canada, before international markets are fully opened again to Canadian beef because of uncertainty over mad cow disease. U.S. officials, meanwhile, called off their investigation into the diseased bovine discovered in December in Washington state, even though



GET SMART Already familiar to millions here in English-language, *SmartTV* is set to enter the Canadian market this spring. It's a pocket-SUN—think it's tough enough for Canadian winters. The little device will be available later this year at an Amazon-like price of about \$15,000.

they were only able to track the whereabouts of 34 of 35 young cows imported from the same Alberta feedlot, and which had been considered "high-risk cohorts."

TERROISM A report by the research division of the U.S. Library of Congress said South American groups with ties to al-Qaeda plotted attacks on Jewish targets in Ontario in 1999, as well as in Buenos Aires and

BY PATRICK LAMONTAGNE



Illustration by
A. D. T. / AP

Paraguay. It also said Hezbollah operations in South America funneled money through Canada for operations in the Middle East.

EDUCATION Though strapped for cash, the B.C. government reaffirmed its pledge to create room for 35,000 new college and university students by 2010. That goal had aggravated current undergrads, some of whom have seen their tuition double over the past two years to pay for the expansion.

HIGH-QUEBEC Quebec's Court of Appeal upheld the firing of two Montreal paramedics who refused to help a dying man because they were on break. Stopped by a passerby who and his friend was having difficulty breathing, the paramedics electrically shocked him to a stop, then left the scene.

SURPLUS Ontario's budgetary surplus could reach \$7 billion this year, Finance Minister Ralph Goodale said. That's much higher than a supposedly cash-strapped federal government was letting on.

Now, however, Goodale said, Ontario won't rule out drawing back from most of the GST. Premier Dalton McGuinty promised voters he would not touch the province's still-in-the-red.

TAXES Conservative party leadership candidate Tony Clement is proposing a novel \$350-billion lifetime exemption before any one would have to start paying income tax.

NDP Leader Jack Layton writes in the on-U.S.-bound oil and gas testish America's trade lesson: Such a levy would cover some NAFTA, but Layton argued the U.S. flows trade policies (with no oversight on softwood lumber and other imports)

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HINDI — OMNI 2
- A HISTÓRIA DE UM Povo
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UPFRONT

Mansbridge on the Record



PICTURE-PERFECT PMs

The official photographer clicks away, and the results can be quite revealing

I WAS 10 years old the first time I went face to face with a press minister. John Diefenbaker welcomed any sister and me to his Parliament Hill office as part of a film shoot, after we'd been picked by visiting photographers who considered us typical Canadian schoolchildren. The then that we were British immigrants who weren't yet officially Canadian, and that we'd barely been here for four years, didn't bother anyone. They wanted us to tour the Parliament Buildings and be photographed... for distribution in schools across the country. We spent days being snapped in different locations—the Commons, the Senate, by the bells high in the Peace Tower, then made the topography of the hill. Diefenbaker was the perfect host, shaking hands, posing for pictures and chartering up my mother, who'd come along. He spent at least 20 minutes with us.

Since that time I've collected a lot of pictures of living prime ministers. I comes with the territory for those of us in the media who, as part of our work, spit lead on their plates and priorities. Part of the payoff you get as a reader PMO is the official photographer, who takes away what the PM enters in notes, and during the kind of pre-interview sidebar that these stats present. Your interview subject wants to present before he knows what's current in your area, and you want to make sure things aren't generated here before you get the first real question on tape.

I used to wonder what happened to all these pictures, but eventually realized the answer is often nothing, and the PM leaves office. That's when his staff scatter through thousands of shorts, and

then send copies to people they can still see who were snapped standing next to their bosses. I've seen the PM signs there with some seriously forced but stern-looking Pierre Trudeau wags. "Dear status point," although I'm sure he couldn't have picked me out of a lineup, Brian Mulroney made ends about us, for Clark John Turner and Kim Campbell weren't around long enough to pick up the film. Into the lab—and then there was Jean Chrétien. His unrigged black tuxedo arrived the other day. They shot close several times, but would together, pose one-on-one, and, finally, a few moments I find quite touching. They're from the night of a far-off event last November, and they capture him and Alice Chrétien in a private room, watching a monitor displaying our coverage of the debate just before they entered the arena where it was taking place. They were very alone, as if this were the moment they realized their long run at the top was coming to an end. I've already had a few sessions with Paul Martin—a year-end interview and a town hall a few weeks ago—and the new PMO photographer was diskiving away both times. No pictures have yet, but with his election expected in a few months, they may be along soon.

Almost 20 years after that visit to Diefenbaker's office, I took the old photo with me to a news conference he was giving in Winnipeg. After the questions ended, I asked Diefenbaker if he'd signed something for me. When I laid the picture out of my briefcase, he glanced at it and then, in classic Diefenbaker style, clamped his remembered the moment well. Part of this magic was that he never signed a name—or that's the way the story went. (Always been skeptical of that story—because he signed his name, he looked up and said, "Ah yes, your mother was there too, wasn't she?")

Peter Mansbridge is chief Correspondent of CBC Television News and Anchor of *The National*. To comment, [click here](http://torontosentinel.ca).

Passages

DIED Gerald Biolley, the tough-minded, six-term-born former governor of the Bank of Canada from 1973 to 1987, had a bewilderingly combination of straightforwardness and reticence while managing rates to record levels. He died in Ottawa at 83.

CONVICTED Mohammad Munawar Jannah, 21, a Kuwaiti-born Canadian who went to high school in St. Catharines, Ont., is believed to be the first Canadian convicted of terrorist charges in the索马里劫机事件. His family in Kuwait says Jannah pleaded guilty in a secret trial and is to be sentenced next month. He was charged with helping organize an Al Qaeda operation in Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines.

DIED Janusz Zarembowski, the gentleman flyer and celebrated test pilot for the Avro Arrow, was one of a slew of Polish Second World War veterans who engineered and flew Canada's first jet fighter. He died of a rare blood disorder at his home in Barry's Bay, Ont., at 88.

DIED Nicholas (Nick) Goldschmidt, a pianist and conductor better known as the joyous impresario who founded the Canadian Opera Company, the Vancouver International Festival and the Guelph Spring Festival, among other events, died in Toronto at 85.

CHARGED Kelly Clark, the troubled Victoria woman who was granted a new trial a year ago after being convicted of second-degree murder in the 1997 hearing and drowning death of 14-year-old Anna Ville, faces new charges. Clark, 21, and another woman were charged with smothering a 58-year-old woman in New Westminster, B.C., in a dispute over a telephone.

MOVING ON June Stewart, 48, the former Liberal minister of human resources development who was on the hot seat in early 2006 after an audit found nearly \$1 billion of job-creation money could not be accounted for, is leaving politics for a position with the International Labour Organization in Geneva in May.

ROGERS



Will the multi-million-dollar sponsorship mess stick to Paul Martin?
JOHN GEDDES reports

Scandalous!

PRIME MINISTER Paul Martin, no slouch, doesn't have much experience in coping with scandal. It's about time. He and his close-knit team of advisers had months to plot strategy for the release last week of auditor general Sheila Fraser's explosive report into the federal sponsorship program in Quebec. Yet Martin's carefully prepared answer to what was bound to be the first media questions on the report was a messup. Asked what he knew, had when he was Jean Chretien's finance minister, about the corrupt misuse of millions in sponsorship funds, Martin categorically denied he had any idea of what was happening.

"I didn't know anything about it," he said, first in French and then in English, adding later for good measure, "I have no idea what was going on here."

Martin clearly hoped to shift attention from how much he knew about what he was doing about it now. There's no doubt that

his response to Fraser's report was his strong suit: a judicious mix of the whole truth, a "spontaneous" (to recover taxpayer) money improperly given away, and new whistle-blower protection for bureaucrats who expose future wrongdoing. It gave him plenty to say when asked, "What are you going to do about this?" But, as Martin soon learned, that's not the question at the heart of a political scandal. The one that matters

THE FRASER FACTOR

What's behind it all?

In November 2007, a program was set up in Public Works and Government Services Canada to make the federal government more visible, especially in Quebec, by sponsoring festivals, fairs and other events. What did the auditor general know?

Sheila Fraser learned the \$250 million spent on sponsorships from 1997 to March 31, 2006. Perhaps her most shocking finding was that over \$146 million of that was paid to Liberal-connected communications agencies in fees and commissions—“which they did little or nothing to earn.” She said the arrangements made with the firms that got huge payments were designed to hide “the source of the funding and the true substance of the transaction.” As well, several Green-party members, including Val Hall and Canada West, were found to have gotten sponsorship money in ways the auditor general’s report calls “highly complicated and questionable.”

Where’s the government doing about it?

Prime Minister Paul Martin canceled the sponsorship program on the day he took over—acknowledging that Fraser’s damning report was on the way. Last week, he announced an independent commission of public inquiry into the matter, under Justice John Martel of the Quebec Superior Court. The MPs on the House public accounts committee have already begun their hearings into the matter. As well, Martin has had an outside lawyer pursue firms and individuals who improperly got



in always the double-burdened query that brought down Robert Bourassa—what did he know and when did he know it?

By categorically claiming he knew nothing, the Prime Minister did the opposite of putting that question to rest. A blanket assertion of ignorance just won’t go down. After all, Martin had not only been finance minister during the sponsorship shindigery between 1997 and 2001, uncovered by Fraser, but also a senior Quebec Liberal. Could such an extensive abuse of the public trust in his own backyard escape his notice entirely? The opposition is of course split on this.

The opposition is of course split on this. The premise that Martin must have known more than he was letting on—and failed to speak up at the time—“whether more silent a result of the fact that he was so anxious to be prime minister that he turned a blind eye to the corruption that the government was enmeshed in,” said Conservative MP Peter MacKay in one of the many fabled Martin’s way in the House.

BY BLAMING the Chrétien regime, Martin is making this a political scandal unlike any other

With quickly announced inquiry and reference to address findings, in Fraser’s report

After two days under such heavy fire, Martin called a news conference to clarify his position. This time, he patiently explained that he had suspected merely that there were administrative problems in the program—until May 2002, when the auditor general issued an earlier damning report on three sponsorship agreements. “That is when I began to understand that what had occurred were for beyond administrative failures and involved possible criminal conduct,” Martin said. More important, though, was his new explanation for why he knew so little until so late. Martin said he was kept in the dark by the Chrétien regime, which regarded him as a tool and a threat.

By running the issue as an extension of his long-standing feud with Chrétien, Martin made a scandal unlike any other. Past corruption controversies have pitted the governing party against those in opposition. This one now has the additional dimension of a contentious split between Liberals. “I can’t stand anything like it,” said John Wright, senior vice-president of the



polling firm Ipsos Reid Corp. “It’s the same negative stories the media repeat. This could be a very messy affair.”

And its outcome is all the more difficult to predict. The Martin Liberals are trying to cast themselves as a new guard, sweeping away the more dubious aspects of the Chrétien era. Treasury Board President Reg Alcock, one of the key cabinet ministers assigned to purge policies in response to Fraser’s findings, told *Maclean’s* that Martin has made it clear he wants an open, as-entirely-as-possible inquiry that “will find out what was wrong and fix it.” “It was not,” Alcock added pointedly, “the intention of the former administration.”

Putting distance between Martin and Chrétien will not be difficult. That gap has been, in many respects, the lifeline of federal politics ever since the two Liberal dynasties clashed in the 1899-1993 leadership wars won handily by Chrétien. They went on to share power, a government built on consensus rather than real trust, and fracture between them got too hot, and Martin forced Chrétien to leave in June 2003. For while Martin has an straight case for saying he was not part of Chrétien’s Quebec inner circle,

A BREAKDOWN IN CABINET

ONE OF THE KEY QUESTIONS left unanswered by the auditor general’s report is how cabinet ministers in Jean Chrétien’s government, including then finance minister Paul Martin, failed to figure out what was going on and take action to stop it. Alcock said government officials last week to explain why the two cabinet committees that appear to have been in the best position to take stock of the emerging scandal—and limit the damage—did nothing.

The cabinet committee on communications was the most obvious place the ministers to

“I DIDN’T know anything about it,” Prime Minister Paul Martin said. “I have no idea what was going on here.”

Alcock says ministers were preoccupied with their own affairs

discuss swelling numbers under the sponsorship program. The committee was established in the spring of 2005, first as the ad hoc cabinet committee on government communications, and was chaired by Alonso Daylana, who was then public works minister and may be the central figure in the affair. Martin was not a member. Despite the fact that the committee was responsible for improving the government’s image—the official aim of the sponsorship—senior Liberal sources insist Daylana never put the controversial program on the agenda of any meetings. One senior Martin adviser said that when new ministers arrived and saw papers, part of a pattern of trying to prevent scrutiny of the program.

The Treasury Board committee, a small cabinet committee that Martin served as as finance minister, was supposed to receive regular reports on follow-up actions after an annual audit of the sponsorship, conducted by the Public Works Department. In the spring of 2006, first revealed serious administrative lapses, which, as noted earlier, were part of a pattern of trying to prevent scrutiny of the program.

Sponsorship Policy Process Action Plan,” lists three separate reports on remedial actions that were supposedly delivered to the ministers between late 2006 and the spring of 2007.

Asked about the three reports by Alcock, government officials were able to find only one that was actually delivered to the ministers. It is a tabled licensing steps to clean up administration of the program, accompanied by a three-paragraph letter dated Jan. 31, 2007, and signed by Daylana, detailing that “the required corrective measures have been completed.” The same day, Alcock said he had circulated Martin and other members of the committee took much notice at the time. “We’re a minister deeply involved with your own staff and you get a report saying, ‘We’ve got it fixed, don’t worry about it.’” he said. “Paradoxically, the people who were doing this didn’t want to reveal it.” And it seems they succeeded in keeping it under wraps.

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ROGERS

Cover | >

IT'S TOUGH TO BE A B.C. LIBERAL

IT'S NO SURPRISE the Liberal sponsorship scandal raised only fizzling front-page mention in Vancouver's newspapers. News organizations tend to be about the unexpected: about men biting dogs, or slaves that don't land safely. "Liberalz Enrage Quebec With Your Tax Dollars" is not news, from a B.C. point of view. As Vancouver Sun columnist Peter McMartin put it, "Excuse me while I yawn."

Many are heartened by the number of general condemnations such flagrante scandales. And it's safe to say the next time Prime Minister Paul Martin makes about "Westminster-style," the \$26-million sponsorship program will be raised as a root cause. One of many amateur escapades, is the prevailing view. That said, Martineau should not interpret B.C.'s cool indifference as forgivability.

Political scandal is a B.C. speciality. Three of the past five elected B.C. premiers—John Horgan, Bill Vander Zanden, and Clark—ended up in protracted court cases after political life. A fourth, Mike Harcourt, was haunted from office by a charity-fundraising scandal of his making. The current office-holder, Lieutenant Governor Gordon Campbell, infamously spent a night in a Hawaiian jail

for drunk driving. More damning are the police raids in December on the headquarters offices of two senior aides.

These raids should worry Martineau, too. The aides, David Ross and Robert Wink, worked for provincial ministers, but they morphed for Martineau Liberals, helping stack rulings with instant Indo-Canadian Liberals. When details of the police investigation are finally revealed—say, in the course of a spring federal election—Team Martin could take a hit. And with the Quebec sponsorship scandal, how many of the 18 candidates Martineau has been courting are likely to sign on to sell that mess to an alienated electorate? It just got tougher to be a Federal Liberal in B.C. But, here's no news in that. **KEN MACQUEEN**



Brad and Vicki O'Gorman—highlighted for the federal party, helping to stack ridings

that's not the same as establishing that he didn't have enough information to act. In fact, on the very day after Martineau said he only began to suspect the worst when Frau-enshielded his May 2002 report, a letter surfaced from a Liberal official who wrote to him on Feb. 7, 2002, pleading with him to go to the bottom of "growing rumours" about the program.

In the euphoria of gleeful opposition outrage and huge headlines last week, Martineau's political future was repeatedly said to be at stake. But that could turn out to be an overstatement. Even the biggest scandals—in the eyes of pundits and political insiders—often fail to register the way with the public. On Aug. 17, 1998, Bill Clinton's admission over the Monica Lewinsky affair seemed to result in his worst point, when the U.S. president gave unequivocal apology speech

I AM MORE TALK AND LESS WALK.

I HAVE MORE WAYS OF GETTING PEOPLE TALKING. BUT I AM NOT ALL TALK. I AM VOICE AND DATA, BOTH ON THE SAME TEAM. I HAVE THE POWER TO PUNCH TIME CLOCKS, LISTEN TO EMAIL AND SCHEDULE APPOINTMENTS. I HAVE THE POWER TO SAVE VALUABLE MILEAGE ON OFFICE MOVES AND I.T. STAFF SHOES. I AM A SECURE, PINT-SIZED PRODUCTIVITY EXPERT THAT DELIVERS SUPER-SIZED ROI. I AM MORE THAN A CISCO 7960G IP PHONE.



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as Alain Tappé. "But if a government is strong, the vote won't revoke exclusively around it."

What's the lesson from politicians like Clinton and Charest, who successfully ride out the storms of scandal? One kept distractingly well enough regard on other from that the controversy didn't become the focus that defines the politician in the popular imagination. Clinton's resignation as an honest person, summed up ready in the title of his autobiography, *Straight Talk*, the Plant, was finally embedded long before the colloquy "Shawgate" entered the political lexicon. Clinton's unparalleled gifts as a political communicator made him a tough target, combined with the fact that Americans—long accustomed to reports of his personal foibles—found the Lewinsky revelations less than shocking.

Marie, of course, is in a very different situation. But, like Clinton and Charest, she has the advantage of an established rep-

MARTIN Liberals have cast themselves as a new guard, ready to sweep away the dubious aspects of the old era

utation that may be hard to shake. His long tenure as finance minister was marked by fiscal scandals, with the exception of an embarrassing episode in March 2003 when a Martin fundraiser in Calgary was revealed to who he'd paid off to the Finance Department on his policy for the oil and gas industry. With only that relatively minor blemish on a clean record, Martin may be able to go into an election, which he is still widely expected to call this spring, holding Conservative voters to view him as the solution to the sort of corruption behind the sponsorship scandal, not part of the cause. "This could be in other circumstances a government," said Wright. "But people will be asked to buy into this cause. We believe Paul Martin didn't have anything to do with it, and has taken the steps to make sure it doesn't happen again. It's an opportunity for him to build himself a platform."

UCLÉ's Tappé says the strength of Martin's position lies in the inquiry and refers to his commitment to address Fraser's findings. "Nobody is talking about the inaccuracy of his response," he said. In fact, the package hasn't been the subject of much opposition attention. Liberal strategists close to the Prime Minister are sputtering a lot at their expectation that eventually Martin will get credit for launching a judicial inquiry and agreeing to settle before it's in doing, they hope he'll outlast those who did—he knows when to stop. "It may well be that in the October comp-

ing day are the news for a long time, it may be that the inquiry turns over a lot of uncomfortable facts," said one senior Martin adviser. "But at least we haven't put our selves in a position of saying anyone we're not prepared to do with the truth." Especially if that math turns out to become changing not to them, but to their old enemies in the Charest camp. ■



RAILWAYS, RIFLES AND MORE

Some past scandals that rocked Ottawa:



Previous scandals to shake Ottawa included Sir John A's railroad monopoly and the Sicamous Stevens affair

THE PACIFIC RAILWAY: In 1872 Prime Minister John A. Macdonald authorized \$36.5 million from railway promoters such as Sir Hugh Allan, later revealed to be the contractor to the Pacific railway. The scandal broke the next year when the Liberal opposition exposed the deal through damning letters and telegrams. One was from Macdonald's son-in-law and politician L.L. Abbott, pleading that he "must have another \$10,000." In October 1873, his government resigned, although Macdonald later came back to win the 1874 election.

THE RIFLE SCANDAL: During the First World War, Sam Hughes, the minister of the militia, was a great proponent of the cause of made-in-their-soldier. However, he had it because of its heavy weight, size and constant jamming problems. The government also faced criticism accusations over the awarding of manufacturing contracts, as well as complaints of rotten rations and other sub-

HIS OWN MAN

Claude Ryan was never one to compromise

THE PASSING of Claude Ryan, the respected Quebec editorialist and politician who died of cancer in Montreal last week, triggered a cascade of fond remembrances from people who had known him throughout his many careers as a reformist Catholic militiaman, politician, polemicist, and sometime prime minister of successive Quebec governments. But you had to know him well to love the man—such a public figure, Ryan was more respected than popular and his influence was far greater than his leadership—more people readily attended a Canadiens hockey game than read his former newspaper, *Le Droit*, every day.

I never worked for him, but I may just as well have. When I was a cub reporter at *Le Droit*, I pursued Ryan as my never-bogeyman editor. He didn't suffer fools, had read all the tedious reports,

know all the figures. The simple thought of this fearsome senior, fartyักษ, baldy, thin-lipped, pointing a bony finger at a cut corner or bashed phaser, was enough to straighten us out. Those who did work for him called him "the donk"—the Envy. Fiercely respectful, they were.

I wrote a profile of him when he was complaining a move into politics in the late seventies. He told me how he had picked and chosen his wife—a totally pragmatic and unromantic exercise, but so much in character. The press became ammunition for his foes during his 1979 campaign for the provincial Liberal leadership, and Ryan could hold a grudge. Ten years later, when *Postmedia* covering Quebec politics for the *Globe and Mail*, Ryan called me a gossip journalist in front of a room full of people. Our relationship remained after that. Both blood flowed in his veins, don't get me, but even when he was over the hill, he was still a good, even great

newspaperman.

boring victory party I ever covered, on a scorching night in May 1983. On the evening, though, Pierre Trudeau made his famous pronouncement of "change." When change came, with the publication of the Constitution in 1982, Ryan rallied his Liberal Opposition members to vote with the Parti Québécois government to unanimously oppose it. Ryan had his own blueprint for the future of Canada—convened in his apply-lined *Le Droit* Paper of 1979—but Trudeau had not fully known Ryan's opposition to Trudeau probably cost him his job as provincial Liberal leader, but, then again, he had given even to Trudeau.

Although he was generous, he had a mean streak. He once told me, "Read Lévesque read many magazine—I read books." As a liberal leader, he burned former premier Robert Bourassa, saying he wanted to murder in law as he did him. Bourassa, who had stepped down in 1976 following his loss to the PQ, was weary of politics then, Ryan, and he came back to re-energize his party and then power in 1985. He kept Ryan in his cabinet, giving him the tricky, no-win files—municipal affairs, language laws. Ryan took the file like a rat.

Ryan's passing, at 78, forces us to pause and contemplate how fast the world has changed. On the campaign trail in the '80s, he was already a dinosaur. He did not believe in spin doctors, did not care about photo ops and sound bites, and insisted on making important speeches in remote locations, long past media deadlines. But he always had his own ideas, a freethinker, an independent spirit, an uncompromising intellect. A man even his critics would want to be in touch with, in case at a level-headed adviser or a beacon of reason. Among the last of a dying breed.



At Maclean's and macleans.ca, we want to get to know you and what you think. THAT'S why we created the Advisory Panel. By responding to our occasional online questionnaires, members can help shape the future of both the magazine and the Web site.

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MACLEAN'S



A CHIEF IN EXILE

James Gabriel says he wanted to take on crime. Now he's an outcast.

IT SOUNDS like the rags-to-riches story of a John Wayne movie: Good Indian Chief, chased from the tribe he is trying to save, comes back, challenges the Bad Guys and clears his name. But it's the real-life story of James Gabriel, elected grand chief of the Mohawk community of Kanesatake three times. These Mohawks near Montreal have been bad news for politicians before—but not for one of their own. Now Gabriel is an outcast, his home ransacked on Jan. 12 following a botched police operation he initiated to "root out the organized crime that has infiltrated our community."

Dark-skinned, square-jawed, articulate and fluently bilingual, the 37-year-old Gabriel has had the media swooning over his role of a crime-busting hero turned victim in a ruthless power struggle in the twilight zone of

His family is scattered in safe locations, and bodyguards are with him wherever he goes.

Mohawk politics. "I was not born an Iroquois. I am not a compatriot who has the right to be a chief and I certainly could have done with our all the assassins," the ex-patriate chief told Maclean's in a recent interview in a downtown Montreal hotel. "The only solution would be to move away and never have to worry about it again."

He won't. What drives him, he says, "is to help provide a healthy, safe and secure environment to raising kids." That, and anger. "The anger has all way of knowing that my family and I had left the house in upstate New York to never come back. They wouldn't have minded if I had died." His family is now scattered in several safe locations, his politi-

cal base in jeopardy, his whereabouts are kept secret and two body-Native bodyguards escort him everywhere he goes. But James Gabriel is going for broke: he is building the whidbaw (what he says) has great many his community. "Our spiritual status as Iroquois becomes a handicap when it is attacked by the wrong people," he says. "If there was no spiritual status, people would not be able to sing themselves in Native rights meetings when it comes down to protecting cultural property—and that is what is happening right now."

In the embittered corridors of Kanesatake, that sort of talk-talking is not done. In the embittered corridors of Kanesatake, that sort of talk-talking is not done. In the embittered corridors of Kanesatake, that sort of talk-talking is not done.

THE GABRIEL CASE is now at the heart of an escalating political mess that has the federal and provincial governments squabbling around the Kanesatake trifecta,

looking bad at every step.

- the Sûreté du Québec and the RCMP (frustrated by their inability to do anything, snarling like dogs in a cat pound),
- the Mohawk political leadership divided between moderates and traditionalists, crime fighters and arsonists,
- Kanesatake residents torn between crime and poverty, hope and fear, pride and despair.

The name Kanesatake was boudred into

adults. I know who they are. Everybody knows. They are always the ones making the trouble. They have pretty much a free rein in the community. And they have become bolder when they had friends in the band council that are a real enterprise. They think they are above the law."

Trouble erupted on Jan. 12, when 67 police from other Native communities, recruited by Gabriel and with special funding

want things to change," Cannanagan says. "The stand-off ended when the police were joined with the protesters. The hostage policemen were let go. Peacekeepers from the nearby Mohawk community of Kahnawake became the native police force in the village. The deal was hammered out by Jean-Claude Chagnon, Quebec's public security minister, without Gabriel's involvement. Chagnon paraded, he says, "There is no question that when



the Cassiarian psyche in 1990. That summer, the military was called in to put an end to a 90-day stand-off over a disputed golf course that saw one Quebec police officer die—and confirmed Kanesatake's reputation for volatility. Located at the far edge of the urban sprawl northward of Montreal, the community of 1,000 has been a magnet over time, avoided by politicians and watched from afar by the SQ and RCMP (Kanesatake has had its own police force since the mid-1990s).

And that's the source of today's problems according to Gabriel. After 1990, he claims, some Mohawks turned the political and legal vacuum to their advantage. "They got organized during the ex-patriate community," Gabriel says, referring to the period when native-born Canadian Iroquois who emigrated to the U.S. were brought clandestinely back and sold off to Mohawk villages. "They developed trade routes, even secret," Gabriel claims. "When the Indians railed the ex-patriate tribe, they're cyclone houses, traps, weapons, dialogue engineers, anything with a cash value."

They?

"There is a core group of maybe 30 crimi-

talists who they are. Everybody knows. They are always the ones making the trouble. They have pretty much a free rein in the community. And they have become bolder when they had friends in the band council that are a real enterprise. They think they are above the law."

Trouble erupted on Jan. 12, when 67 police

from other Native communities, recruited

by Gabriel, arrived the police station in Kanesatake. They were carried by protesters who had been tipped off in advance. The mob closed off the main road, marched belligerently and hoisted the flag of the Mohawk Warriors, which flew with such prominence in 1990. Gabriel's house was torched during that same 30-hour stand-off.

"The Warriors' flag was up," says Dennis Cannanagan, one of the leaders of the seven-member band council and a Gabriel supporters. "That is not a Native right issue, not a territorial issue, it is a law and order issue. In 1990, the community was attacked by outside forces. This time, it is divided from the inside." The assertion of Cannanagan, 48, who is the son of a seven-year-old Indian railed the majority of the chief back in Gabriel's former. But while the grand chief now lives in exile under protection, Cannanagan lives alone. "People think he's a bad guy," he says. "Don't think this place look like a stronghold of pagans! Were you attacked? Were you offered drugs? Grand Chief has two wife with two children, and I don't think for them," adds Harding, a former police officer. "There are social problems, no doubt, but they are no worse than in neighbouring non-Native communities. The entire problem has been magnified by Gabriel."

With the "foreign" ex-patriate and the investigation into the most officially underhanded of the lot on the seven-member band council and a Gabriel supporters. "That is not a Native right issue, not a territorial issue, it is a law and order issue. In 1990, the community was attacked by outside forces. This time, it is divided from the inside." The assertion of Cannanagan, 48, who is the son of a seven-year-old Indian railed the majority of the chief back in Gabriel's former. But while the grand chief now lives in exile under protection, Cannanagan lives alone. "People think he's a bad guy," he says. "Don't think this place look like a stronghold of pagans! Were you attacked? Were you offered drugs? Grand Chief has two wife with two children, and I don't think for them," adds Harding, a former police officer. "There are social problems, no doubt, but they are no worse than in neighbouring non-Native communities. The entire problem has been magnified by Gabriel."

Harding says that "Mohawks are proud



people, very proud people. They don't like to be bad-mouthed—they like it even less when it comes from one of their own. "They really don't like to see their patch invaded by outsiders. The problem is not a human and order issue, it is a political problem." James Gabriel is the problem. "Gabriel, he's not from, governs like a white man. I don't think he understands the way the community operates. He thinks his majority in town all gives him the right to impose what he thinks is best for the community."

Gabriel admits he did not consult with the three elders before calling in an outside cop. "The discussion I had with [the community] on the strength of his majority but Harding says that's not the way Molokwa have governed themselves. "It is up to the community to decide on policy, and for the leadership to act on the decision. I am the peer of James Gabriel, he is equal—James has no authority to do what he did." An election is due in July. The traditionalists are pushing for an early vote, "because Gabriel has left the community and is governing by remote control, and the council is paralyzed," Harding says. Gabriel replies that holding

meetings says Gabriel governs like a white man and doesn't understand the community

an election before he could safely return home would be like "building a dictatorship based on terror."

A strong undercurrent in the debate is the question of who is a real Molokwa. Both Gabriel and Harding are half-bloods. But

IN THIS distal debate, a strong undercurrent is the question of who is a real Molokwa

Harding's mother was a Molokwa, Gabriel's was not in the maternal culture. Harding is a full-fledged member of one of the clubs, Gabriel isn't. And who should have the right to vote? Traditionalists want to restrict it to members of the community. "Elderly cleaning," Gabriel replies. "Traditionalists are half-bloods, those who don't speak Molokwa, those who speak French and those living outside the reserve, and you

get a tiny gene pool, unable to reproduce."

Here is the traditionalists' outlook: "We must take the best of our culture and the best of modern society, and build upon that," Gabriel says. As for the traditionalists: "We have been battered over time by two cultures, and we are rebuilding our names." Harding says, "In difficult, it brings many social problems, but it is up to us to govern ourselves, according to our ways." Gabriel says he is fighting crime. "To give the power back to the people, not to police who run the show." Harding says Gabriel is putting Molokwa government especially by "making private deals with outside governments."

You don't need road signs to know you have reached Molokwa-land. First, the light changes as you drive through the forest of tall pine trees made famous in news-disp. 1999. Then you see the first of countless shacks—you are now a Molokwa in training. With the barbed-wire fence, a man an agape, stopping to say—slightly the no-nausea eye—reverently that the Molokwa continue to sell. But, for the time being, James Gabriel must pay the full price for his own the Molokwa, in the department of Montreal. □



A 'FANTASY THING'

The comedian and TV host comments on lesbian chic

Lesbian chic has become the marketing rage, whether in Super Bowl beer ads featuring hot women licking lips, a sitcom with nubile *Sex and the City* actors who regularly get personal—*even the Britney Madonna kiss*. To get a lesbian's take on it all, *Madame's* Senior Writer Maggie Cassella, *Aussie of the Year* TV's *Because I Said So*, tells all about her career as a lesbian and her partner of more than seven years and lives in Toronto.

You say lesbian chic isn't new. What do you mean by that?

One word: *Sex and the City*. Lesbians have always been in. Then just this visibility thing, now, and to some extent, it's an expensive thing, but as long as there have been women who have been married to men, lesbians have been popular [laughs].

Why is it cool to be a lesbian now?

When I was growing up, there was a show called *Room 222*, and this was this white guy in there with a big Alby. When culture and

things about interaction come into the public eye—for whatever reason—then people latch on to them.

It's an awful teenage pop song that plays on our supposed sexual interaction with each other. Why are they popular?

Haha, Dina, where have you been? [Laughs]

young girls wearing schoolgirl uniforms, making out with each other. How you never heard a grown-up say it's like every straight man's fantasy. Give me a break. Heterosexual men have always had that lesbian fantasy

thing going on, so there's that, but part of it is the gay movement, people becoming less afraid of gay people, and making that gay people are just people who are capable of everything that every other person is capable of—and incapable of, as well.

What did you make of the Madonna-Britney kiss at the MTV video music awards last August?

It was a reinforcing tool because we're still talking about it. That's all it was.

What do you think of the Janet Jackson breast implant?

Again, Janet Jackson, breast, Madonna, Britney Spears, it's all marketing. Would we even be talking about the Super Bowl halftime show? Why would we if Janet Jackson hadn't shown off her body? By the way, it wasn't really even her body—I mean, I guess it was her body, she paid for it. Give me a break. She's a dancer.

Why did you emigrate to Canada and eventually take dual citizenship? A girl.

OK, but that relationship didn't last. Have you been treated differently here?

It's why I moved. Canadians complain about the taxes, but the place you pay far fewer than here. I can work in Canada. I feel pretty strongly about the fact that, here, I'm not known as an expatriate American, or lawyer, lawyer residing in a Jewish community, lesbian, married-up who I am. It's all those things that make up who I am.

This country has been amazingly judgmental [about me] if you don't like my comedy, but in Canada I don't have to put up with, "Oh, that's a dyke, we don't like her." It's more like, "You know what? She's too loud, we don't like her." That's OK. In the States, I'll be called to an open show because I'm a lesbian, and I'm not a lot. I've been out there was it? But I'm not going to be your "Is she a dyke" anymore.

Why agree to this talk?

I think it's important for people to know that the best part of being in this country is not being singled out for being a lesbian. It's about living in a multicultural society. □

YOU'VE GOT spam

delete

It clogs your computer and wastes your time. But you can protect yourself from e-mail hell.

BY DEREK CHEZZI

IT'S A THURSDAY EVENING in January, and I'm getting spammed. Unlike most unanswered e-mail that clutter the in box, I know who's sending it. His screen name is Roger, a computer expert and self-described "white pearl" from Columbus, Ohio—shelved in the trash of the spam trade but not a spammer himself. He demonstrates how easy it is to bend the internet to his will and make it send thousands of messages with the click of a mouse. He images transactions as flooding rivers—software to deliver e-mail in bulk and evade traditional filters—and the various techniques for capturing e-mail addresses and making the sender's ergo. And it's becoming clear that no matter how often you change e-mail addresses or switch Internet service providers (ISPs), it's impossible to hide from those unsolicited messages. And that, as the e-mail system creaks under the weight of all the junk,

something drastic must be done to rid us of this digital pestilence.

Tired of being bludgeoned with offers of discount drugs, cheap mortgages and life insurance, penis enlargement pills, instant university degrees, hard-core sex sites and get-rich-quick schemes? We're not alone. Millions of people are fed up with digital junk mail, nicknamed spam after the canned lunch meat and its reference in a Monty Python sketch about a restaurant that served nothing but spam. Just ask one of the 37 million Canadians who are regularly on-line. A 2003 survey found the majority of respondents would rather clean toilets than deal with a clogged in box. "Suppose a whole gang of people started racing go-karts all over the Canadian highways to the point that no traffic could ever get through," says 68-year-old native Rod Anderson. "Well that, to me, is what spam is. It cleaned up the system and made it slower to travel."

Over the past decade, e-mail has become an indispensable form of global communication. But the volume of unwanted messages has exploded. Today, e-mail spam technology company Brightmail Inc. estimates spam accounts for 40 per cent of total e-mail volume, five times more than it was two years ago. Some Internet providers argue the figure is even much higher. Tom Coopchuk, chairman of the Canadian Association of Internet Providers, says the volume increased at his company's network to 90 per cent. "People out there are bombarding the system with so much junk," he says. For a few years,

Copeland employed staff at its own BSN Colby, Ont., just to manage unsolicited messages. But keeping up-to-date with the latest filtering software and purchasing more server capacity to handle the volume proved a losing battle. He now contracts that task out to Postini Inc., a U.S.-based e-mail filtering service.

It isn't just the commercial e-mail bombardment. There's the clutter of messages from "friendly" sources, too. Your company's departmental updates, your co-worker's newsletters about book sales and school charity drives, and friends forward jokes, Web links and articles. It adds up to e-mail overload. An exhaustive survey by the Pew Internet and American Life Project found that a quarter of e-mail users had reduced their overall usage due to spam, and just over half of the respondents said they were less trusting of e-mail because of the invasion of spam and its often offensive content. It's also driving shoppers away from the Internet, according to consumer group *Trust* Atlantic Consumer Dialogue.

But few are prepared to log off forever. That would be like giving up on the telephone because of telemarketers. Some have changed their e-mail address in an effort to stop the flood. Jay Stoobing, a 27-year-old lawyer from Windsor, Ont., had that "I hate spam. It almost turned me off the Internet altogether," he says. "But that's also an impossibility. The Internet plays a much greater role in my life than television."

Anderson, from Cobourg, Ont., has been on the Internet since 1995 and uses it for research, to contact support groups for people with a chronic medical condition, and for online banking. Last year, he grew so frustrated by spam—up to 300 unsolicited messages a day—that he began buying a third party service to filter his e-mail. He no longer needs to hunt through his in-box for hours to find the 30 legitimate messages among all the solicitations, but he'd rather than waste the need for extra filtering. "It seems to me the world is going to have to do something about this," he says.

The sheriffs have begun curbing the lawlessness of the wild and lawless. Recently, state labels began using the courts to squash digital piracy. Privacy laws aimed at protecting the personal information of Internet users have taken effect in Canada. And now government offices are set on spam. In December, Premier George W. Bush signed the CAN-SPAM Act, legislation aimed at reducing the volume of unsolicited messages. But critics say the laws do little. In fact, they argue it actually opens the door for more spam. "This law is horrific," says Ned Schwartzman, anti-spam activist and chairman of the Canadian arm of the Coalition Against Unsolicited Commercial Email (CAUCE). It's been spamNews, a free regular dispatch from his Montreal home. The way the act is written, Schwartzman says, "means that every company has the right to send you at least one spam e-mail. And there are tens of millions of small and medium-sized enterprises in the U.S. alone."

Earlier this month, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development hosted a meeting in Brussels to discuss the fight against spam. At the conference, the European Union, which has tougher laws, and that since the U.S. is the largest source of unsolicited commercial bulk e-mail, it should be doing more to deal with the problem. "It's going to take some aggressive enforcement of the laws to make life uncomfortable for spammers," says Michael Geist, a University of Ottawa law professor who chaired the law and regulatory panel at the OECD meeting.

The people piping you with spam range from professional marketers



HOW SPAMMERS FIND YOU

DICTIONARY ATTACKS

Spammers will target an e-mail provider and bombard the domain with every letter combination possible. If any of the recipients reply to a spam, their addresses are considered active and added to the "clean" list.

MINING

Indexing software similar to that employed by search engines such as Google and Alta Vista tracks the Internet collecting e-mail addresses posted on Web sites, newsgroups and forums.

SPYWARE

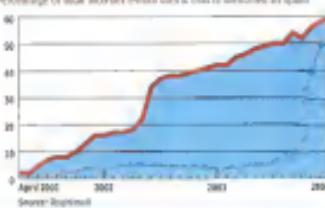
Once the virus, which typically arrives as an attachment in an e-mail, is downloaded to your computer, it tries through your hard drive collecting e-mail addresses. It then sends this to all the people named on your contact list and back to the spammer with a list of email addresses.

SPAM-UP LISTS

Some Web sites sell their subscriber lists to preferred partners, which in turn sell them to their preferred partners, and so on until the list finds its way into the hands of a spammer.

AN EVER-INCREASING DISEASE

Percentage of total e-mail traffic that is identified as spam



to 21st century sales of software, pornography and fraud arenas. The bar for legitimate marketers is big, however, even then: just one per cent of recipients click on a link or make a purchase. The risk for an unsuspecting consumer is great, though. Asymagia activists say organized crime rings have invested using spam to commit financial fraud; one, called "phishing," is a form of identity theft in which Web sites designed to look like those of legitimate banks are used to steal login names, account numbers and even credit card information belonging to unsuspecting customers.

To capture your e-mail address, some spammers use software to send incoming and outgoing messages on a server. This staffer application collects addresses from the "To" and "From" fields and sends the information back to the spammer, who adds it to a database. But the techniques aren't always this sophisticated. Most Canadians online are making their contact information freely available to all in instant messaging. If you've made a purchase on line, entered a contest or signed up for an e-mail newsletter, you may have agreed to allow your address to be sold—a practice normally disclosed in the contact terms you are asked to accept before they sign up. However, most people don't read the fine print on those agreements.

Some spammers simply sign up from an e-mail account with a regular ISP. If the operation is a little larger, they can boost output by renting extra computer server space from an Internet provider. Or, they deal with very large operators of bandwidth, such as on-line paragraph sites, they can afford to purchase their own "server farms." ISPs generally don't monitor the volume of e-mail flowing out from any particular account, and they receive a complaint from user. "We have a zero tolerance policy on spam," says Charlotte Burke, senior vice-president of consumer spammer services at Bell Canada. "If any of our subscribers are reported to us, we can validate that they are sending spam and cut off their service."

Over the spammer is in it for the long haul. If he's been kicked off those services, he can't believe on the Register of Known Spammer Services, a database of the world's worst offenders organized by the Spambot Project, a U.K.-based anti-spam organization. Information sheets compiled on each spammer illustrate the lengths to which some go to disguise their

UNSOLICITED COMMERCIAL E-MAIL BY CATEGORY (as of January 2001, in per cent)

Product	22%
Financial	20
Adult	17
Scams	8
Health	7
Lottery	6
Internet	5
Friend	4
Political	2
Spiritual	2
All other e-mail attacks	7

Source: Symantec

5 TYPES OF WORKPLACE SPAM

Annoying, unwanted e-mail comes in all shapes. In her book *Stop Your E-mail: Fighting clutter in the inbox*, University of Waterloo business professor Christine Coughlin identifies a set of "workplace spam" that drives a frustrating wedge into our productivity on a daily basis. She also argues it's high time we instituted some e-mail etiquette at work. "Companies need to devolve e-mail policies in the workplace," she says. "That would prevent an inappropriate e-mail and what isn't." Coughlin breaks down the at-work e-mail onslaught into five categories:

CORPORATE SPAM

People who work for mid- to large-sized corporations know this all too well. These messages are often addressed to everyone in the company regardless of relevance to the recipient. Coughlin suggests the information be passed to a company's intranet Web site where employees can peruse it at their discretion.

PROFILE SPAM

These e-mails are designed to keep the sender's name front and center with the recipient—usually a manager or someone higher up the chain—to achieve greater career visibility.

CAMOUFLAGE SPAM

Also known as "cover your butt" spam, these are notes recorded from conversations and forwarded to co-workers with the sole purpose of protecting the sender.

FRIENDLY SPAM

Personal requests for donations (members of co-ops, office events, and raffles) that sales associates at company e-mail.

INFLATION SPAM

A message forwarded by a co-worker or friend who thinks you would be interested in the content, whether it's a joke, chain mail, a Web link or an article check full of "interesting" information.

"Spam"

has cluttered up the spams and made it almost unusable."

ROX ANDERSON



identity with false names, addresses and phone numbers. Spammers also invade spam groups that now the Internet, making scores on how to beat black lists and what's the latest filtering technology.

In Canada, unless the content of the e-mail is criminal in nature (such as financial fraud or child pornography) the spam mails usually targets a computer to receive damages, police won't likely lay charges. Since e-mail and letters argue all they're doing is taking advantage of the technology to deliver commercial messages, no different than the hard-copy journal that arrives in your mailbox every day, but they are a minority voice. Anti-spammers argue the activity is immoral and should be made illegal.

Even the Canadian Marketing Association supports strict commercial e-mail usage policies. In 800 members, which include organizations such as Canadian Tire Corp., EnC and the Hudson's

Buy Co., are forbidden from using unsolicited e-mail to acquire new customers. Our position is that it's appropriate to ask questions in consent from customers before sending them any commercial e-mail," says CMA CEO John Gustafson. "We recognize that, with e-mail, the normal economic incentives of advertising are not in place." Meaning the cost of sending hundreds of thousands of advertisements via e-mail is a fraction of the price to print a Flyer and use Canada Post to deliver them.

The head of the association of internet providers says spammers account for nearly 90 per cent of e-mail traffic. "People out there are bombing the system with as much junk," says TOM COMPTON.



Augmentation of the IT security industry speaking in anti-spam software has grown to meet the increased demand. "We're seeing a sort of dot com boom all over again, but this time in anti-spam technology," says Giese. Revenue generated from global sales of anti-spam software is projected to top US\$360 million this year. The technology works—the volume of spam getting past the mailboxes is only a fraction of what people could be seeing. Still filtering has its own problems. Analysts abound about high rates of misclassification getting caught in quarantine folders or never getting through to inboxes. Most famously, *America Online* once bashed back Harvard University in response and rejected an letter that had been e-mailed to students. Filers have become more sophisticated, but Japier Research reports continually blocked e-mail is costing legitimate businesses US\$25.25 billion a year in the United States. So called false positives are a dilemma for companies that depend on e-mail as a business, because which is worse: getting through the junk mail or getting the legitimate e-mail and not getting it.

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Firms

In the DMA are forbidden from sending unsolicited messages. "Opt-in consent is required from customers before sending them any commercial e-mail."



7 WAYS TO REDUCE SPAM

Avoid purchasing products from unsolicited e-mail. The e-mail may contain viruses or worms that can damage your computer.

Never respond to any spam messages or click on links in the e-mail. Often spammers use a "unsubscribe" link to verify your e-mail address and then...

Do not open an unsolicited message if you don't recognize the sender. Viruses embedded in e-mails can install an application on your computer file by file or damage your system.

Retrieving the previous function in your e-mail software. Often senders can track whether a message has been read even if you haven't actually opened it.

Greater and use more than one e-mail address. Distribute your primary address to family and friends only. Other addresses can be used for making purchases on-line, subscribing to e-mail newsletters, posting to newsgroups, and forums, and registering for Web sites. This should enlarge the volume of users in your e-mail account.

Protect your computer. Install firewalls and anti-virus software, or find a third-party service to filter your e-mail. If you have high-speed internet access at home, consider purchasing and installing a firewall to prevent spammers from turning your computer into a "zombie" system, which then can be used to send out mass emails.

Contact the Internet service provider. Once you've identified a spam message, report it to both your own ISP and that of the spammer. It will help yours provide better filtering capabilities, and the spammer's ISP will look that user off its system.

izing smarter. They're working hard to get past the filters," says Enclosure's Jessie Dougherty, director of development for the anti-spam task force of Sophos, a developer of security software. He points to a dangerous new trend: an enmity gap between spammers and the writers. They are introducing viruses that deliver sparse payloads, acquire new e-mail addresses and turn untargeted compaigns into "nothits," messages that can be easily rejected, our correspondent

A number of solutions have been floated: super filters, digital postage stamps for e-mail, and a DNA-like signature applied to each e-mail to verify its sender. Some have suggested using brainwashes and listing valuable headers (such as the spammers) for as targets. Bell Canada's Claude also says that end users must take steps to help quell spammers. Top 10 rules: *block us, anything, anything*.



OUR THE UNIVERSE IF YOU LIKE.
OR JUST THE BOTTOM OF THIS PAGE

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A BRAND REBORN

It may not last but, for the moment, Cadillacs are the hipsters' ride of choice

OLD MEN drive Cadillacs. That's been a comment for decades, right up there with denim and tuxes. So how did the wacky, out-of-touch and square—locally and figuratively—brand suddenly become a status symbol again? It's now the vehicle of choice among Hollywood types and rappers who regularly pepper their rhymes with the brand name. And it's cool enough to make Super Bowl MVP Tom Brady, a 36-year-old quarterback, seem almost as excited as he was at his 2005 debut accepting the keys to a new Cadillac Escalade as he'd been hosting the

championship trophy. Looking at the new models, we clearly nodding about your daddy's *Caddy*.

It's part of the business cycle: as companies focus their sales efforts on core customers, they sometimes forget to attract new buyers and then fortunes decline. Then it's up to advertising agencies and product designers to restore the brand image, no easy task once the marketplace drowns the product old and uncool.

But the automotive industry lately, retro has worked more often than not. Sure, Ford's strategy

were up by about five percent in 2003, the average age of buyers is down and the gold-plated crest-falling again. What got *Caddy* in gear? The company had spent years with regular thrills as competitors such as Lexus, BMW and Mercedes cornered the luxury market with better money, performance-oriented vehicles. With its average buyer approaching retirement age, *Cadillac* had to face an adult bottoms.

"Consumers needs changed from young, large, boulevard cruisers to tauri, rear-wheel-drive vehicles with a youthful design," says Normandale. *Cadillac's* marketing manager in Canada. But the comeback was late catching up. "We didn't read the tea leaves as quickly as we should have," says Normandale. Alan Middleton, an assistant professor of marketing at York University's Schulich School of Business, puts it this way: "Cadillac looked at the luxury

retro of the Thunderbird but sold that well. Volkswagen, though, found a way to move more Beetles. BMW's M3 is better than ever. In the motorcycle world, Harley-Davidson, once nearly scrap, is near again.

While *Cadillac* has achieved it for more significance, because it didn't simply update an old model. It re-imagined an entire line with completely new cars. As a result, sales

have been jumping, turning up in lyrics by rappers such as Andre 3000 of Outkast

vehicles on the market a few years back and saw only foreign models. It prompted them to say, "We have to do something."

The transformation began three years ago, when Dennis Banas, General Motors Corp. launched its new line backed up by a US\$4.5-billion re-branding campaign. The company gave the new models a more aggressive, angular look—an acquired taste, some critics say. "We didn't want to bring back the old *Rolls*, but needed a way to stand out in the market," Middleton says. The \$77,000 sport utility *Escalade* and the \$410,000 *XLR* are attracting the younger buyers. *Cadillac* has seen the average age of the Escalade buyer in Canada a 45-12-year younger than the normal *Cadillac* customer. To reinforce the image change, *Cadillac* launched its ad campaign built around the Led Zeppelin classic, *Rock and Roll*. "Using a '60s name brings the boomers back to a time when they were young in both mind and body," says Middleton. "Music is one of the easiest ways to the heart."

Cadillac's turnaround stands in stark contrast to GM's failure to measure up in Oldsmobile division, which, despite a campaign that explicitly stated, "This is not your father's Oldsmobile," will cease production in May. Kenneth Wong, a professor of marketing and business strategy at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., says there are some key differences that time around. "GM used William Shatner as the spokesperson for Oldsmobile, and though he is an esteemed Canadian, he is not your father's dad," Wong says. "On the other hand, *Cadillac* is known forever as a master of status: its ensemble parts, came out with the Escalade—a part pickup, part sport utility, part sedan—giving them a product to back up the bold changes they wanted to make."

An unreturned phone call to *Cadillac's* new owners in the brand's appeal among older athletes and musicians, most notably rappers. References to *Escalade* appear in dozens of chart-topping hip-hop songs, and many of the artists are now arriving at awards galas in the massive SUVs. "We'd love to take credit for it, but we really just fall in our lap," Shatner says. "It's the type of recognition you can't buy. It doesn't mean anything if I say *Cadillac* is cool, but if a rapper or athlete says it, then people hear."

The pop connection has created an other valuable if intangible benefit: interest



In the 1950s, bigger was better and chrome Cadillacs ruled the Canadian luxury market.

RETRO WHEELS



Mini debuted in 2001. Mini unveiled its hot-selling *Minicooper* in Canada in 2002.



WW sold more than 21 million of its original Beetles. Its successor is popular, too.



The retro T-Bird was a critical hit, but sales stalled and it was discontinued.



Ford is hoping a retro-look 2003 Mustang will boost sales of its signature pony.

among young living high-society. "Some of these vehicles are like hot wheels and have turned showrooms into auto shows," says Kevin O'Donnell, sales manager with Calgary-based GM's *Cadillac*, the largest GM division in Western Canada. "Every day teenagers are popping up to look at the cars and buy *Cadillac* merchandise." That can sell cars. Middleton says an important factor driving sales is something called "feel factor." "The old model of car buying—pick the engineering, then pick the colour and the ads get to it—it hasn't been true for 40 years," says Middleton. "The kids now say, 'You can't buy that. There's no way I'll let you drive me to school in that. It's not cool.'"

What is cool is the logo. Jerry Fiske, a buyer with West 40's national clothing chain catering to teens, says it's been impossible to keep *Cadillac* logoed belts on the shelves. "They had to sell it two-to-one over any other belt buckle we carry," says Fiske, whose company is the only Canadian retailer that stocks the item. "We sold about 2,000 last year and we could have sold way more, but we couldn't track any more down." *Cadillacs* have also been showing up on the small and big screens—an *Escalade* was featured in *The Matrix*, *Resident Evil's* 14-minute chase scene. And through its marketing campaign, *Cadillac* is now associated with the Super Bowl, the Winter Olympics, the Academy Awards, *World War II* and the *PGA* Tour. "It's a way to reach consumers who don't have an *upper-class* last," says Fiske, "and let them know there are new things in *Cadillac*."

Of course, not everything is new. The big *Caddies* are still gas-guzzlers, and the *Escalade* was recently awarded the dubious distinction of being the most fuel-inefficient in North America—10 times more likely to be tagged than the average car. And down the road, who knows how long the *Cadillac* brand will remain hip, considering the fickle tastes of the young and rich. "It doesn't take long for a product to go from being a song by 50 Cent and attractive to consumers to being pushed aside for the next best thing," says Stan Baker, a senior consultant with the Vancouver-based consumer research firm, Fresh Eye Solutions. "New companies are successful at sustaining interest over the long run." For the moment, though, *Cadillac* is enjoying the ride.



THE LOWDOWN ON THE LOW-CARB DIET WARS

Increased credibility for the Atkins diet has driven critics to extreme tactics.

WHEN NEWS BROKE last week that Robert Adair had been clinically obese at the time of his death, it was hard not to remember of events almost two years ago, when the same doctor had gone into cardiac arrest while eating what was presumably his regular breakfast: two bacon strips. On both occasions, authorities reacted to reports of his ill health with barely concealed glee. "All those eggs, all that meat," said this doctor's son. "It's bad for you." "He sold us so," crowed the obituaries, all too happy.

Just as they had the first time around, colleagues and family of Dr. Adonis moved quickly to rebut his critics, accusing the doctor who had leaked the news of his 258 lb. death weight of being racial bigots who had misrepresented medical facts. The 10-foot Adonis had weighed 185 lbs. when he stopped his run on an icy sidewalk and were only an eight-day run, his supporters explained, and the 60-lb. weight gain occurred in hospital, provided by organ failure, fluid retention and dramatic bleeding. At his funeral, heart conditions, his widow, Veronika, repeated that it had been caused not by his low-carb energy bars but by a cardiac infarction caused by overexertion, septic septicemia, and a ruptured aorta.

Last week's tragic events contrasted unfavourably with the way things stood out after *Adonis' "cardiac arrest*, from which the 71-year-old physician recovered rapidly. He went on to experience the public relations磨難 of his life when *The New York Times Magazine* announced an interview that "educational researchers are beginning to embrace the medical theory that maybe Dr. Adonis was right." That article became the most talked-about topic in New York since the terrorist attacks. And it began the evolution of the low fat versus low carb diets, which continues to this day.

The hands over Adlai's supposed ability to act an ultra-modern conductor in the never-ending series of news stories about the so-called phenomenon of low carb dieting has been gone. Gentile, for example, in one week in January, the mayor of New York, Michael Bloomberg, caused a mini-sensational (and then shadowed last week's buzz) by

DEBATE over Atkins' supposed obesity fix is just an ultra-easy instalment in the ongoing coverage of low carb's impact.

about natural parent, or other, would result in a loss of control or a noticeable advantage that causes adherence to a strict diet faster because the body processes different types of foods differently. While the RIC's *Morocco* program rejected this claim, we results have demonstrated and supported a literature review of Public Health studies related just a few months earlier. Compared to the twin intervention, the Harvard study found a much more pleasant episode in our research. Harvard scientists and chefs at the Foundation for Food and Health in Cambridge, Mass., provided participants with meals prepared from a recipe already created recipe. For two weeks, participants picked up their daily food-supply, which included a meal for night's dinner, a snack and the next day's breakfast and lunch.

The 21 participants were divided into a low carb group, whose members lost 17 lbs on average, a low carb group that ate the same number of calories and lost 23 lbs, and a third group on a low carb plan that got 30% more calories than everyone else and lost 21 lbs. The communication results corroborate the idea that the best way to lose pounds is to eat fewer calories, and suggest Adonis' model is less accurate than the low carb diet. It takes more energy to digest certain foods.

The Harvard study, designed as a pilot for a much larger study to come, was not meant to be statistically conclusive. It was laid by the new diet in the diet were, researchers with reputations to make, and were selected, who, not only have separate expertise, but, an entire belief system. Then too, the critics accused the power-performing diet of causal theorizing, a standard charge that can to make sure diet studies are on the honest, and it's impossible to prove that some diets aren't secretly shedding down Seinfeld bars. The critics also accused the

Harvard participants of violating the first law of thermodynamics, which states that energy—in this case calories—can neither be created nor destroyed. But the obvious alternative explanation is simply that the conventional wisdom about nutrition is wrong. The prevalent theory that “you become as healthy as your mother” doesn’t even acknowledge, for example, that differences in individual metabolism can despite the fact that it’s a completely obvious theory.

that even weight-loss experts have difficulty selling the two apart. It's now copying the fast-food franchise best-seller charts, while Dr Atkins' New Diet Revolution retains the top spot in its own special section. This phenomenal popularity and branding power has made Atkins a lightning rod for contention, not just with the low-fat nutritional establishment but also with the potato chip manufacturers and bread makers who hold him responsible for demanding sales. Of course, he has would-be point out that he has boosted the sales of eggs, cheese, and chives, and may have gastronomically helped save the beef industry from collapse after the mad cow scare. So to inventors taking on the restaurant sector, now offering low-carb soups, croissants, pastries, bagels and Atkins-friendly salads

So how exactly did Atkins, who was considered a quack for two decades, become such a powerful force? Well, with stock trends, the more extreme version of low carb (not to be confused with Atkins' early seventeen-year high protein modify) caught on quickly with influential early adopters like rockers and personal trainers. Other participants were

pancreas doctors who surreptitiously wear low carb and discovered that it not only worked but eradicated what they had learned in med school. When they dared to speak up, they were backed up by their nose doctors who had found that overweight patients felt less hungry with low carb, lost more weight and, contrary to expectations, saw their cholesterol levels improve.

Of course, even if low-carb eating is really found to be perfectly healthy and a more efficient way to lose weight than low-fat, there's no guarantee people will be able to keep pounds off. It's something of a paradox that as the same time low-carb diets books are flying off the shelves, so are *Know Your Numbers* books. Predictably, the entries in the diet books blame each other for causing the kind of deprivation that pushes laymen to switch to high carb and high-fat meals. After all, that kind of thing isn't supposed to happen to people who follow the right diets. ■

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Psychology | Terror and the brain

Why are some victims of a car accident or a brutal rape debilitated by the event for years after, while others seem to be able to get on with their lives? The answer may be more complex than just an individual's personality, say brain researchers at the Krembil Research Institute in Toronto. That's because, what we now refer to as post-traumatic stress syndrome, a condition that has also affected hundreds of Canadian soldiers, seems to result from the particular way the brain recalls the memories of especially vivid events.

For three years, researchers conducted brain-imaging tests on 24 victims of sexual assault and horrific accidents, 13 of them prolonged survivors of post-traumatic stress. A powerful magnetic resonance imaging machine (MRI) measured brain activity while the participants heard their own memories of the events played back to them. The difference was startling and "confounded everything we've seen clinically," says study director Dr. Ruth Lanius, a psychiatry professor at the University of Western Ontario.

For those who suffer from post-traumatic stress, their memories of what happened were replayed through the sensory and storage areas of the brain's right hemisphere. Recalling the event, as in even experiencing a sensory cue like a car horn or the taste of blood, can unleash a flood of raw life flashes and make it feel as if the incident was happening all over again. On the other hand, those who underwent equally horrific events, but do not suffer from post-traumatic stress, experienced their memories in the brain's left hemisphere, where language subtleties readily reside, and how which personal narratives can be modified by repeated telling. "It's like," says Lanius, "it was just a memory of the past."

Lanius says it is not clear why the mind recalls seemingly equal traumatic memories from different locales. It may have to do with the severity of the incident or individual personality. It may also be simply the result of the circuit pathways of the brain.



Lanius says it's unclear why the brain recalls trauma in such vastly different ways.

Findings

MS trigger

McGill University researchers have discovered a key trigger that appears to trigger the onset of multiple sclerosis, the debilitating disease of the nervous system that affects over 50,000 Canadians. What's more, they've been able to block it with a chemical inhibitor, halting the progression of MS-like symptoms in laboratory mice. They caution, though, that human blocker will require many more years of research.

Attackers' asthma

A new test has been reported in the battle against asthma and other pulmonary diseases, with a protein that stops the buildup of artery-clogging mucus. Inflammation, already not yet stopped, and cold drugs that relax the airways during an attack, tend to decline in effectiveness after prolonged use. This new assessment, developed by researchers at North Carolina State University, uses the secretion of mucus in mice, though tests today are scarce. Take whether the mucus continues to build up inside cells.

Addiction switch

Studies at Toronto's Mcmaster University have discovered a brain chemical that can reverse drug addiction in rats returning them to the state where they do substance constant reinforcement. Previous studies suggested drug addiction permanently alters the chemical pathways in the brain, and that a return to the pre-addictive state was long and arduous, if possible at all. This one-seventh of a pharmaceutical solution, possibly even for humans, that can change the physical basis of craving within hours.

Chemical warfare
a sticky residue of
polymer-glycolic
like the knot at gam-



ster-in certain diseases—can ease the distress of patients during surgery and limit the everyday battle to prey on vulnerable bodies, University of Chicago scientists say. The connection seems to act as a shield to prevent chemical signals of stress from reaching brain-spasmodic and causing them to spring into action. If the technique works as well in humans as it did in mice, it may help alleviate the muscular tremors and stiffness associated with chronic diseases.

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HEALTHNOTES



Workplace | The cure for a sick building

The purpose, says Dr. Dick Menzies, has been "unbelievable." Everywhere, it seems, has a sick building. They'd like a heal. It's available as far away as China and India, and from engineers and architects to ordinary office workers, have pursued Menzies' lead at the Montreal Children's Hospital, part of McGill University. Then he came to Menzies, a regional agent, and his colleagues demonstrated that ultraviolet light kills mould and bacteria in air-conditioning systems and can improve the health of workers. "Nobody wants another Legionnaires' outburst," says Menzies. "This technology can prevent that."

Researchers have long known mould and bacteria thrive in the dark, moist confines that house air-conditioning equipment. Studies have also linked cooling systems in sick buildings in which people complain of headaches, fatigue, difficulty concentrating, skin rashes and congestion.

So Menzies' team examined four Montreal office towers, fitting the air conditioning systems with UV lamps to banish the damp spots and cooling coils in germinated light for a month. (UV light is already used to sterilize the air in operating rooms and pharmaceutical facilities.) Researchers also turned the UV lamps off for three months to allow mould and bacteria to grow back. They repeated the cycle two more times over the course of nearly a year.

Researchers didn't call the study's 771 respondents when the germ-killing lights were on. The result: workers reported a 20-per-cent reduction in absences with the UV working, and a 48-per-cent drop in respiratory problems. Non-smokers and those with allergies seemed to experience the greatest benefits. Menzies says it costs about \$65,000 to install the UV hardware in a typical office building with 1,000 employees, and would likely reduce days lost to illness. "That's pretty cheap," he adds. It also sounds like a breath of fresh air.

GARY HAMBREE/BU

Web help | The virtual hospice

Most people understand the certainty of death and taxes. With taxes, we get help. Death, not so much. That's why a group of federal, provincial and municipal agencies teamed up in Winnipeg earlier this month to launch a \$1.2-million Web site that offers practical advice to Canadians coping with someone about to die.

The Canadian Virtual Hospice (www.virtualhospice.ca), a bilingual site, features authoritative guidance on physical, emotional and spiritual care, says Nancy Antoshes, the hospice's co-chair. "We hope to give everyone a venue to work together on every level—patients,

Sleep | Mask of the chronic snorer

For the sleep-deprived and chronic snorers, it makes sense that the cure is worse than what ails them. A mask and pump that forces air through the nose to prevent breathing obstructions isn't the most attractive item to wear to bed. "You look like an alien, with that great big tube coming out of your nose," says Harry Schindler, who has been using a continuous positive airway pressure machine, or CPAP, for 20 years. "But the only person who sees it is my wife, and she thinks it's much better to have the mask than the snoring."

Obstructive sleep apnea, which affects four per cent of men and two per cent of women, makes a person's airways to collapse during sleep and can cause breathing to stop for a minute or longer. Schindler, 36, a backhoe operator at Tonawanda Hospital for Sick Children, had 100 such episodes a night. Without treatment, sleep is no better rest, and causing snoring



and quality declines faster than the best ones on the market. They cost between \$1,400 and \$1,600, but they are increasingly being covered by provincial and private health insurance. CPAP still isn't getting used to, but looking funny in bed may be a small price to pay for a good night's rest.

families, care providers, volunteers and researchers—under one roof."

What should loved ones say to a dying person? What are some of the telltale physical signs that the end is near? What's the best way to manage pain? The easy-to-navigate site offers a chat room and bulletin board for added support and to post local community services. Visitors can e-mail questions to nurses and a doctor, with replies promised within three business days.



REPLAYING A BORDER WAR

GARE JOYCE finds little camaraderie at the 73rd West Point-RMC hockey game

ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON West Point sent its regrets the orders on the ice to the do square and the departing team would not be making the trip to Kingston, Ont., for their annual mid-winter exchange with the Royal Military College. You could have had too much into this. You could have put it down to the over frontier relations between the U.S. and Canada. As it turned out, the two-maneuver competition did have something to do with it—all—an action to that road ends in update New York City's mid-winter for the six-hour bus ride from the U.S. military academy. Fortunately, the centerpiece of the weekend would go on as

scheduled—the 73rd installment of the West Point-RMC hockey game. The Black Knights had made the trip to Kingston and thus avoided the first cancellation of the event since RMC shut down during the Second World War. Army-RMC goes without a break in the schedule. The Maple Leafs and lightning to bring the oldest continually contested sports event between the U.S. and Canada.

Even if it's not the oldest, it would rank among the most historic. And unusual. In the beginning, RMC's commandant, Gen. Sir Archibald Macdonnell, and West Point's superintendent, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, envisioned an exhibition skirmishing between the campuses at West Point, N.Y., and Kingston, one that promoted armistice and partnership. The skirmish for the first time, outdoors on natural ice, at West Point on Feb. 1, 1925, with RMC winning 3-2. The Canadians won the next 16 contests, but not a lot of weight was given to winning or losing. West Point-RMC contested a largely social and gentlemanly affair for a quarter-century—“a point of honor,” the teams played without penalties without being called and a reason to cancel in 1954.

The rivalry ramped up thereafter. “For our team, the RMC game became the equivalent of the football program’s game against Navy,” said West Point’s current hockey coach, Bob Riley. Going into the 2004 game, the senior stand at 36 wins for West Point, 28

coach Kelly Nobes try to keep tabs on the U16 and Junior B players who might have the grades to get into RMC. Still, it’s a tough sell, particularly with the minimum five years of required service after graduation. West Point’s historians are given to a recent graduate, Matt Hinote, who was allowed to defer his required five-year hitch so he can play with the Colorado Avalanche. “If you went through the West Point issue, you’d see that all but one of the players are recruited,” Oliver says. “West Point is a lot more like the other top U.S. college programs than like us in that way.”

The year the odds looked even longer for RMC. Going into the West Point game, the Paladins had won only two of their 20 games against Ontario university teams. “We’re a defensive team that struggles to score 40 goals,” Nobes said. “The one thing is, I can count on our players being up for this game.” That’s true of any game these days, given Canadian teams against Americans, from the Olympics right down to plebe tournaments. Paladins’ captain Matt Marion, a feisty year electrical engineering major from Burlington, Ont., suggested that something more was in play for RMC. “There is a difference between West Point and us,” said the 22-year-old Marion. “I have friends who are just back from Afghanistan, but what’s happening in Paladins isn’t our war. We know we could be saving the side these guys in four or five years, but our roles are different. We’re the gatekeepers.”

On Saturday afternoon the RMC contingent bodily came to the rink in full dress, swaddled into their season-and-a-half fashion. The seats behind the RMC bench were reserved for VIPs, square-jawed, spot-and-polish sorts from both ends of the border, stars and buzz-



28 wins for RMC and six for us. Started May 30, Oliver, a recruiter for RMC's variety sports programs and the hockey program's master yearbook, offers a familiar metaphor for the rivalry between the military schools' hockey programs: "It's war," Oliver says. "Huge hrs. Sometimes fights. The teams respect each other, but for the 60 minutes they really don't like each other."

On the surface, RMC seems overextended

its leaders body—about 1,800, or 18% of RMC's overall student body—go to the RMC bench and sitting in leather upholstered chairs behind the RMC bench were reserved for VIPs, square-jawed, spot-and-polish sorts from both ends of the border, stars and buzz-



The Paladins and the RMC fans celebrated RMC's third period goal, but Army won the game

of around 1,000. The atmosphere was rowdier than you'd find at the oh-so-traditional Army-Navy football game. You'd never hear the rathskippers from Kingston cheering “West Point sucka.” The college’s band tried not just the usual beats and drums but also a guitar who played selections by AC/DC, Pink Floyd and Nirvana.

The game itself was less a match in the manner than a rough pit, lots of contact and

play that occasionally lapsed into atrophy. After a period the teams had a goal apiece and, although the visitors were on average a couple of inches taller and 15 lbs heavier, there was little distinction between the teams in the skill department. In the second period of West Point’s run out to a 3-1 lead, but it could have been worse. Paladins’ goalie-side-blair Stevenson, a first-year science and engineering major from Oakville, Ont., made

a few spectacular saves in staving off an Army onslaught. “Stevenson gave us a chance to win this game,” coach Nobes said.

Then came the third period, RMC pulled within a goal of Army when right-winger Matt Reid, a quantum student in electrical engineering, tipped a poem shot past West Point’s goaltender Fred Roberts. Through the Paladins dominated play the rest of the way, they couldn’t beat Stevenson for a tying goal. In the last few minutes, a couple of high-fives out and trash talkers used. Maurice might one day serve as a penitentiary, but on Saturday afternoon the role fell to Greg Kenney, a minor on loan from the National Hockey League. It was all Kenney could do to control the game. Even after the final buzzer, he was breaking up skirmishes that threatened to devolve into a battle royale. After the players had a chance to cool down and shake up some polite applause, the team lined up for the ceremonial handshake. Though the game is billed as a friendly exhibition, the visitors were forced to teeth grit.

Riley knows West Point and its cadets as well as any coach can. He has coached the Army team for the last 17 seasons. Before that, his father, Jack, coached the team for more than two decades. Riley says his players, unlike Maurice, are giving a lot of thought to politics. “There is a different atmosphere around the team when there’s a coach who is that going on,” Riley said. “I say a different way with our fourth-year players. They all have friends who have shipped out.”

Army captain Mike McLean, a fourth-year defensiveman, agrees. “Any player in his final year is going to West Point thinks about those being the last real game that they’ll play,” says McLean, who, like Maurice, is planning on carrying his dad’s wings. “We’re going to continue our dad’s traditions who are in Iraq and Afghanistan. We know we might be killed, and it’s not appropriate to say that like it’s game over rates.”

After the game, West Point again sent its regards to the team’s war-trekking around the world. “I’m sure they’ll be back,” Nobes said. “I’m sure they’ll be back.” The fans hoisted the bus in their team colors, normal if it were convened in officials dress dressed when to reschedule the events caused by the ice storm. But after the afternoon’s action in Kingston, where the roundly young men became moral messengers for 90 minutes, an exhibition to promote camaraderie looked more like a once-a-year war game.



LOONIE JOY FOR SPORTS FANS

The weakening U.S. dollar is helping Canadian franchises

WINTER TIME speaking schedules can produce climate shocks—and material for columnists. Such was my most recent experience, a week that included Winnipeg and Phoenix. And it was a fine week for public appearances because my organization had just been honored as a Javelin cover story on high-performing annual funds.

I left Winnipeg a week after the city had suffered through what several locals told me was the worst winter weather they could remember. Wind chill had reached -34°C. Skating rinks were closed for Phoenix. I used every opportunity to ask about the dead-

son eight years ago the Winnipeg Jets to become the Phoenix Coyotes. The irony that, until Calgary's oil boom, was numero uno on the Prairies, was so right for hockey, the game of prairie poofs.

Phoenix. It is crazy. A cab driver recalled how a reporter taped interviews with departing team members. They were unanimous in their regrets about leaving this wonderful city and great hockey town. The reporter arranged for identical interviews after they arrived in Phoenix. They were unanimous in expression of joyful relief at getting out of that terrible climate and small town.

That Phoenix bugaboo the jets is just another Southern California story. Many Stanley Cup NHL canons have chapters moderated by their propensity to occurs. Yes, it gets hot in Atlanta, Miami, and Raleigh, N.C. But Phoenix is in the middle of the Valley of the Sun. Daytime temperatures reach the low to high 30s for many weeks before play-off—including the playoffs. A hockey rink there is as economically sensible as growing orchids and bananas in Winnipeg.

Tony's Phoenix, beautiful as it can be in places, was a triumph of American excess. It's been one of the fastest growing metropolitan areas in the U.S. over the last few years to live—not on a diversified, youth-driven economy. The kind of people who symbolized the region in the 1970s—desert hairy Goldwicks and current Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor—left the desert and reigned the Indian who had lived there for centuries. They watched in

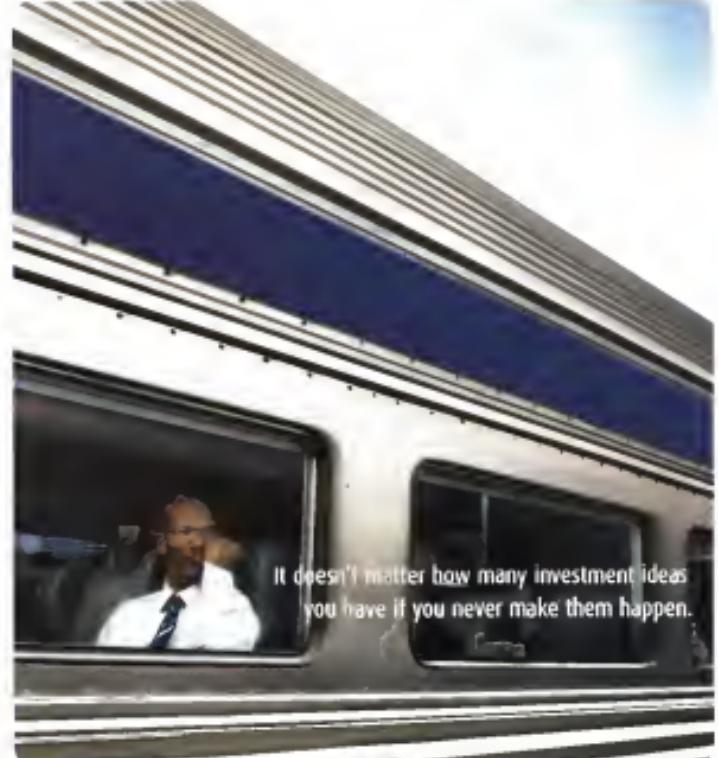
disarray as developers drove a hammer to lose irrevocable resources of water from the Colorado River system to provide the lawns, golf courses and swimming pools for the remote communities. Developers like Del Webb created communities far northeast, working class cities that raised tickles to uneducated levels. And so the politics of race-charged language of the five most rapidly Republican states in recent elections, it voted for Clinton in 1996, and gave Bush a rather close victory in 2000. In the Democratic primary this month, a huge turnout gave presumptive candidate John Kerry a massive victory.

Indeed, outside the desert blossoms like a rose by consuming scarce resources to build a canna. What Arizona is doing is trying, in

effect, to do a become what it is not. Try to stop us. We've got the buck to do what ever we want. Winnipeg couldn't compete with that.

Indeed, hockey—and professional sports generally in Canada—have suffered a terrible competition with the U.S. cities during the era of the strong American dollar. Montreal's Expos, an astonishing story of excellence on the field in the face of economic decline, are in life support in the city that prided itself on Jackie Robinson for the major leagues. The Toronto Blue Jays, one of baseball's top performing franchises during the

A RINK in Phoenix, with its 30°C temperatures during hockey season, is as economically sensible as growing orchids and bananas in Winnipeg



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Film | BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON



THE POINT OF NO RETURN

A mountain devours, a butterfly heals and a girl hides from the Taliban

WHEN YOU'RE WATCHING a really good thriller, it's a visceral experience. Your whole body gets into the act, bodily converting anxiety into adrenaline. Although it's only a movie, it can leave you emotionally and physically drained, as if every cell of your auditory being has participated in an unlikely leap of imagination. It's what Alfred Hitchcock famously called "that willing suspension of disbelief." And what's remarkable is that you can be on the edge of your seat even when you know the outcome of the story in advance. That's certainly the case with *Touching the Void*, a gripping document about a

legendary climbing accident. Throughout this movie, we're reminded that the characters in question lived to tell the tale, because that's exactly what they do—reinforce women into a disease of entitlement. But some have that doesn't dampen the suspense. *Touching the Void*, a harrowing fiasco, may be the best climbing movie ever made. It's also the most thrilling suspense movie of any kind that I've seen in a long time.

Based on the 1988 bestseller by British mountaineer Joe Simpson, it tells his harrowing tale of survival. In 1985, Simpson and climbing partner Simon Yates set off to scale the craggy rock wall face of Shisha Grande, 6,400-foot peak in a remote corner of the Peruvian Andes. They reach the summit, the first climbers ever to do so, but on the way down, battered by a sudden storm, Simpson falls and shatters his leg. Yates tries to lower him to safety on the end of a rope, but inadvertently drops him over an anvil. As Simpson clings from the overhang, his 160-ton heavy to release, his right is slowly pulling his partner off the mountain. So Yates is faced with a gruesome decision. Rather than die with his fellow climber, he pulls out a knife, cuts his left hand and the rope, sending Simpson plummeting into the void.

Yates makes it back to base camp, convinced his partner was dead. But Simpson survived a 50-m fall into a giant crevasse, a dark cavern of new reality that he reduced was about the size of the dome above St. Paul's Cathedral. He couldn't climb out; he can only go deeper, trying to find light at the end of the tunnel. And for the several days, without food or water, he crawled down the mountain in encroaching pain, not knowing if there would be anyone at the bottom

alive, and are disfigured by frost. They look like me, otherwise indistinguishable from the real-life climbers, whose the verbal narrative in separate interviews delivered straight to report in intimate close-ups.

Simpson's story English mountaineer deftly uncovers the horrors of his ordeal. As the life ebbed out of him, he recalls, when popping by Boney M rattled through his hallucinations. Simpson remembers that he kept thinking, "Bloody hell, I'm going to die to Boney M." A confirmed atheist, Simpson says he made no last deals with God, but chose "a sense that he's in the vicinity of something." "It's like an ocean you just never going on," he says, "and soon eventually going to stand on it." And as he crawled to what looked like certain death, the erosion of life was "a slow, steady reduction—you just become nothing."

Simpson doesn't blame his partner for cutting the rope, and doesn't feel he should have done the same. But Yates, who came under heavy criticism in the climbing community, clearly occupies the less enviable side of the story. No matter how justified he may



MacKey and Aaron positive British mountaineers in the harrowing tale of a climbing disaster



WORKING-CLASS BOYS MADE GOOD

Peter Robinson and his compelling Insp. Banks tower over Canadian crime

READERS AND CRITICS alike generally have no problem finding a concrete Canadiana in this country's voracious literary fiction. A sense of characterized—*the result not only of an unifying desire but also of history as part of an empire, never the ruling power itself*—looks back as disparate as W.O. Mitchell's *Who Has Seen the Wind* and Yann Martel's *Life of Pi*. Canadian social and economic influences are there. Like the works of Northrop Frye and Margaret Atwood, she rises to that theme. It's a lot harder, though, to find common elements within the vast expanse of Canadian crime fiction. In part that's because crime writing here is an industry—a surprisingly large body of work, popularized by small regional, that flows below the surface of popular consciousness. But it's mostly because its themes vary so often and easily.

The author doesn't always like Banks, but they have a lot in common

There are literary shillers probing police over more compelling. "Banks interests me more now than in the earlier books," Robinson says. "I couldn't do his job, it certainly couldn't cope with an autopsy. I don't even like him all the time." But despite their physical dissimilarities—Banks is slight and dark, Robinson is a blond, of-bulding, surface—center and character are much alike. Common class origins are marched by common musical education—music is an essential to the books that the author's Web site tracks Banks' adored play lists (Banks and the Beaufort novel by novel). And then there are the deep structural similarities, Robinson notes, in the work of writer and detective. "The cover-dropping, the being noisy part." And the mutual wear and tear of growing older. "Yeah, Banks is going into middle age now," notes Robinson, 53, "with all that muscle."

Newfoundland Constabulary by Thomas Blaikie, Carrie and Giller blurb's Northern Ontario detective John Cardinal. Histories who-dones-murge from Don Carter's gripping tales of a governance gone awry in Upper Canada in the state months before the Re-bellions of 1837, to Carolyn Bessie's beguiling chronicles of a blind Jewish physician sleuth in 16th century Catalonia.

A common Canadian thread I usually notice, though, but far from of a genre in which the demand for fresh product is second only to maximum armchair, the mere fact of the authors' nationality is a selling point. At least it is for foreigners, according to Ed Singh, co-proprietor of Sleuths of Baker Street, a Toronto mystery book store. "We have a very active reading list: Australians, Americans, Germans call in as the books they can't get at home. Besides, there's a point, you know, where you've read everything to about New York, L.A. or London, and Toronto seems to look nice." The situation is reversed, of course, for Singh's local customers, and his shop literary patronage plays nicely: "Canadian writers for shelf space will be everyone else."

All that might help explain why Canadian most renowned crime author is a transplanted Englishman, writing about an English policeman in an English town. "Actually," laughs Peter Robinson, who has lived in

Toronto for the past 15 years, "I've had both sides of the fence. The booksellers can say: 'Oh, you like Ian Rankin's novels? Why don't you try this Robinson fellow?'"

They can't. "So, you're looking for Canadian writers?" "That may be more good for the commercial side, but the true source of Robinson's burgeoning fan base was critical acclaim like this in the intriguing evolution of his crime stories. "Afterwards" (2001), loosely based on the Bernardo Ramírez case, as a third stand-alone, set in his Toronto Beaches neighbourhood, it didn't work out. "I found it a little too close to home. Not only are my neighbours nice people, not murderers, but I was waiting there, walking the streets making sure all the buildings were in the right order."

He switched the setting to England, and was more than 300 pages along when a nagging question—"what's wrong with this story?"—driven him to the obvious answer on Banks. *Afterwards* became the fifth Banks novel, an exploration of what that would not have been: a harrowing without the upper-class emotional resonance.

Robinson, in fact, takes what critics see



Playing with fire, Peter Robinson, \$34.95



MARK SINKKET
the master
Ghosts,
HarperCollins,
\$34.95



CASTING FOR A
GHOST
Mark Sinker/
HarperCollins,
\$34.95



A Promise
for a Master,
Penguin,
\$14.95



Working-Class
Boys Made Good
Peter Robinson,
\$29.95

The fiction so Banks means Canadian fans will probably never get whatching they've would "clearly love," a Robinson novel set here. A high-ranking copier (detective and suspect), "Banks can't move at this point in his career," Robinson says, and should he encounter a crime on a visit to Canada "he wouldn't have the resources" to investigate it. Despite two early-on Banks thrillers, the author can't seem to closeout his character any more.

Robinson originally planned *Afterwards* (2001), loosely based on the Bernardo Ramírez case, as a third stand-alone, set in his Toronto Beaches neighbourhood, it didn't work out. "I found it a little too close to home. Not only are my neighbours nice people, not murderers, but I was waiting there, walking the streets making sure all the buildings were in the right order." He switched the setting to England, and was more than 300 pages along when a nagging question—"what's wrong with this story?"—driven him to the obvious answer on Banks. *Afterwards* became the fifth Banks novel, an exploration of what that would not have been: a harrowing without the upper-class emotional resonance.

Robinson, in fact, takes what critics see as an additional limitation as great writing—"there are no villains against me," he argues, "I write crime and I have a set of bums"—and turns Banks' unfolding personality into a strength. Unlike Stephen King, an enthusiastic Banks fan who often complains that popular writers never get their due from critics, Robinson quietly pushes the boundaries of crime fiction while shrugging off the genre war: "Giant does him who you can do," admits the author, who has a taste for an English literary modern (modern British poetry, no less). "There's no crime, no investigation, a selection, I'm not writing *Murder* *everyday*."

But Robinson also believes, in common with all the major writers of his genre, that while crime may be formula, given the ends of the human heart—no expression changes over time. Criminal acts, like works of art, say something about current society. And if the Banks novels don't provide the substance of classic detective stories—the narration of social and moral order—then "that's a lot more order inside the novels than out," Robinson says. Readers who follow Banks through his investigations will at least know what happened, even if, like the inspector himself, they don't know why.



IF AT FIRST YOU DON'T...

I was laid off at the age of 53, and it actually turned into a good thing

IN NOVEMBER 2002, at 53 years of age, I became a statistic: I was laid off from a well-paying job as a computer-based training developer. My wife, Sosia, and I knew it was coming, but were still shocked when the phone rang to tell me "to drop into work and clean out your desk." It seemed so harsh. After I regained my composure, we sat down to finalize a survival plan. We still have four kids at home and Sosia hasn't worked since our first was born in 1978. I couldn't afford to be home if I'd need about who had crushed me.

usually often a problem and never unanswered—nor would my pride allow it.

I reviewed my resume and joined several Internet job search sites. I scanned the newspaper's classifieds and contacted and talked to hockey fathers during my son's games. They were all supportive and encouraging, but nothing materialized. I passed through a myriad of emotions from optimism, to doubt, to pride, to rage. Finally, in desperation, I thought back to what my former employer's human resources representative had told me: the bag doesn't weigh in my position or "not looking outside the box for a new entry."

In reality, it was a huge step. The biggest advertisement section in the newspaper was for truck drivers. Perhaps a little extreme, but all plausible—had been in the military until 1995, working not only in the computer-based training field but also as a truck corn hauler. After taking 28 hours of driving instruction, I passed my Class One license. I quickly discovered that no one would hire me without two years of driving experience, but I eventually convinced a local driver to let me team drive with him on a seven-day trip from Calgary to Montreal and back.

Driving a fully loaded Kenworth truck trailer, we left on a Monday December night. Outside Medicine Hat, Alta., we pulled me to slow down to 60 km/h while we stopped out on the roundabout to have a look. We changed drivers while an incoming opposing winter storm and money early on the third day, while driving through northwestern Ontario during a snowstorm. I became disoriented. Continuous truck traffic

I crawled the two-hour backslidem road. I realized I needed the experience to be driving as these conditions, yet I knew I was not going to end up on a rock face in this place still, in a strange way, I thoroughly enjoyed the experience, and meeting the challenge.

In March, I answered an ad to become a tour bus driver in the Rockies. Twenty people from all walks of life, including four RCMP officers, signed up for three weeks of driver training. We spent days one-on-oneing basis around driving courses and on the perimeter highway between Banff

and Jasper. After graduating, we received our new uniforms and set to work touring sightseers to various sites in the Rockies—for one week. At this point the company had us all off because the SARs were had dramatically reduced the tour bus business. I am not sure why, but again, I found the whole experience exhilarating.

During this period I had learned that the military was short qualified people in my former occupation. They needed me and I certainly need of them. But I would have to pass a full medical exam and fitness test. Although I walked and weighed regularly,

I failed my first aerobic test. That prompted me to start a training program; for six weeks I dieted and used a step machine to lose 24 pounds. I now weigh about 178 lb., a weight I hadn't seen since my early 20s. I took the test again and passed through.

After eight months of being brushed off, it was heartwarming to be wanted again. I am now employed as a training development officer, concentrating on technology issues, and have a new sense of vigor and a refreshed outlook on life. (My wife, too, has regained confidence after going back to work at 51.)

So what have I learned about getting a job when you're over 50? Get into shape. When going for an interview, it's important to feel you can meet the demands.

Maintain and develop friendships. Friends are supportive and may even give you a solid lead. But most important, you have someone to vent to. I started my old work buddies with monthly updates and they were always encouraging.

Develop in segments of skills. I tried to be better about my abilities after driving a truck and a bus. Those experiences made me realize that I can do anything, if I choose.

Be adventurous. Take that step—go ahead, you've got nothing to lose.

Be lucky. There is a certain amount of serendipity involved. After one prospective employer had the chance to my reference, I phoned to double-check that the number was still correct. My reference usually wondered if I would like someone back. What would have happened if I hadn't called?

In a funny sort of way, I realize that I was fortunate to be laid off. My life has been enriched dramatically by the unique experiences, challenges and people I have met.

High figures loom in Waterloo, and is planning to eventually take second career interests in writing. To comment, e-mail me at hugh.eisner@rogers.com.

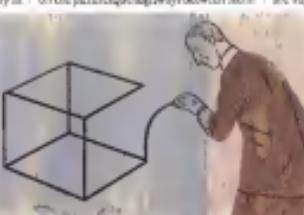


Photo: David L. Jackson



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CLOSING NOTES

Lost since November 1
our cat



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Books | Lost in translation

Never underestimate the power of a cat dog. Just ask Toronto-based illustrator Jon Phillips, whose charming book, *Lost*, a companion of missing pet posters, has garnered an unexpected following in Japan—thanks in part to the adorable pup Phillips sketched on the cover. Last year out of print, Phillips had, ummed over 12 years, and while global sales of the book were brisk after its April 2003 release (20,000 copies sold in the first six months), things really took off last summer when it was translated into Japanese. In fact, a cultish marketing empire was built around Phillips's cover pouch.

After buying the rights, a Tokyo-based firm started the cultish creature Lost-lesser and started selling accessories, including plush dolls, die-cut cell phone cases, handbags and key chains. "We sold about 10,000 Yen's worth selling in Japan when things first started there," says Phillips, 37, adding that summer's a houseware line—including dishes and blankets—will be on store shelves. "The whole thing is exciting, but weird. Especially since the dog took one about five minutes to draw." No time at all for a man to find himself a profitable best friend.

JOHN WINTER

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Phillips's posters
and this plush pouch
are big in Japan

Hockey | Puck rock

Expect things to get a bit ugly when a bunch of Ottawa police chase racers off against a group of Canadian rockers in the charity event Puck Rockin' the Capital in Gatineau, Que., on Feb. 23. Here's how we see the teams matching up:

THE HOME TEAM: THE ROCK ROCKS



RIGHT WING

Peter MacKay: Team captain has thrown a Wellington to play a little dirty

THE CENTRE:

Jim Munro: Role as Ottawa's Peter Jackson is a welcome addition to an art director who's perfectly cast as one of *Children of the corn*

LEFT WING

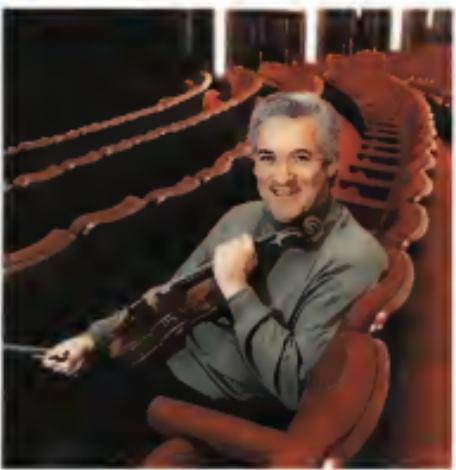
Bones Mills: Brought the *Popcorn Kid* Jagger to Toronto. Gets Toronto MP Steve Paikin a hat trick?

DEFENCE:

David Pratt: The defense minister's two tiny son starlets makes him an off-the-cuff dynamo. Radioactive will need to stay tough on the blue line. Not by chance: *King of the Hill* star Peter MacKay is the team's enforcer—by choice. Jason Pitsik: The former *Wetmore* trend-setter and sentimental player from *Dragon Ball* will need to stay tough on the blue line. Not by chance: *King of the Hill* star Peter MacKay is the team's enforcer—by choice.

Listing | Cirque comes to town

The Fabulous Mr. Fox is the world's oldest (by far) 20th-century circus, and it's set to celebrate with high-flying performances of its greatest show in Vancouver starting on May 11 and in Calgary on June 24. Cirque is a spastic Allegro spaz in Victoria on Aug. 13.



John Intini starts a sentence...
Pinchas Zukerman finishes it

Pinchas Zukerman is considered one of the greatest violinists ever. Born in Israel, he picked up the instrument when he was seven and later moved to New York City's Juilliard School. He is also a world-renowned conductor and the music director of Canada's National Arts Centre Orchestra. Zukerman, 55, recently finished Macbeth's Assistant Edi-
tor, John Intini's sentence.

IF I LOVE TO MASTERS... I might. I love playing, but I think it's a waste of time for me. I don't think I'll ever be able to be a Jimmy Connors at my age.

MY FAVORITE PORT... goes back to my childhood. I really like some of the Jewish poets, including Hayyim Nahman Bialik. I also love some of the stuff of James Joyce, wrote.

A GIFTED STUDENT... has an inclination toward the music and physicality. I also look for

understanding, which is something that is hard to explain. Simply put, a great artist has his voice and that's something that is unexplainable.

I'M MOST CONFIDENT WHEN... I know enough about a given subject. In the arts, 99 per cent has to do with knowledge.

IF I WAS TIME-DEAF... I would be a miserable human being. But people aren't born with a disease that makes them time-deaf. That you don't notice that part of your brain. Being tone deaf is an acquired, unfortunate social behaviour.

WEARING A BOWIE... I do something I used to do. I don't wear any type of tie now. It's like a fashion. Whenever I got a new tie, I'd always go, it's dirty while I was eating dinner.

FOR MORE "FRESH THE SENTENCES," visit WWW.MACBETH.COM/OPP

UPCOMING ZUKERMAN
1. *Conversations With Great Composers* (with Amanda Lang) at the National Arts Centre on Jan. 8 and 9.
2. Plays with the New York Philharmonic on April 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, 27.

3. Will conduct the National Arts Centre Orchestra in Nov. 26, as part of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra's Masterworks series.

Books / Crossing the American Rubicon

Most Americans... according to Chilean Johnson's *The Sorrows of Empire* (Herc), do not recognize that the U.S. dominates Big Oil through its military power. That makes them, writes the author, "different from other peoples on this Earth." Johnson, a retired academic and former CIA officer, is not overly concerned about American empire. His well-written and alarming forecast for a nation is greatly concerned with the effect of American imperial power on the Americas and, in that regard, he's part of a long anti-military tradition in his nation. Standing back through Johnson's warning against the military-industrial complex to Washington's forward-leaning, interventionist policies, the country's more than 120 foreign bases, military alliances established since 1945 and many others created worldwide since the terrorist attacks, and considers that the U.S. has already become the New Roman Empire.

BestSellers

Fiction

1. *THE RA MONDOIRE*, Guy Gavriel Kay (25)
2. *ARMADA*, PETER F. JORDAN (20)
3. *THE CURIOUS INCIDENT OF THE DOG IN THE NIGHTTIME*, Mark Haddon (20)
4. *THE FIVE PEOPLE YOU MEET IN HELL*, Matt Haig (22)
5. *NEW SPRING*, Alain de Botton (22)
6. *GLORYFIELD*, Linda Fairstein (21)
7. *THE FORTY-THREE FLOOR*, Ann Patchett (20)
8. *THE FORTY-EIGHT PLATES*, Anna Quindlen (20)
9. *THE LAST WEST*, Michael Connelly (22)

Non-Fiction

1. *THIRTY HOURS IN TWO DAYS*, Jennifer Dulos (22)
2. *REHABILITATION*, Jason Elam (22)
3. *DEITY'S BORNSTONES*, Alain Michel (22)
4. *THE PRICE OF LUXURY*, Eric Lutes (22)
5. *WHALE*, Mark Kurlansky (22)
6. *FOOT, FINGER AND SPONGE*, Michael E. Debakey (22)
7. *THE CURIOUS LIFE OF ROBERT HODGE*, John Hodge (22)
8. *THE MEANING OF EVERYTHING*, Steven Pinker (22)
9. *WORRY*, Steven Stosny (22)
10. *ESCAPE & MARRY: NEW YORK*, Michael Lewis (22)

11. *WALK ON AIR*, Christopher Hitchens



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People | Dubliners with a California vibe

The five members of the Thrills have known each other since they were kids in Dublin. They've lived together in California, and all of them have only female siblings. So it's no surprise that when Conor Deasy, Daniel Ryan, Padraic McMahon, Kevin Hession and Ben Carrigan—aged 26 to 30—enter a room, there's a real brotherly vibe, complete with teasing and roughhousing. At a photo shoot, they pickup guitars (the tenor-cs and cellos of the bunch) and swing 'em around by the strings and legs, much to their own amusement. But when separated they show nothing but pride and respect for each other. "When we were in California, Kevin started writing jingles for one of the biggest Christmas cracker companies," says Ryan. "If the band hadn't got together he could probably have made it as a comedian."

After their California excursion—four months in San Diego in 1999, four months in San Francisco in 2000—the friends moved home, got a record deal, lost it, got another, went to L.A. and recorded their debut release, *So Much for the City*. With its sunshiny sound and lyrics, the album has drawn comparisons to the Beach Boys, but the band argues listeners go past that. "The lyrics are pretty miserable," says vocalist and principal songwriter Deasy. "They reflect a really shitty time—it was hard for us to get a new record deal. That's why the music is upbeat—they're escapey pop songs we

“
The group's first CD, *So Much for the City*, spent seven weeks at the top of the Irish charts

have made it as a comedian."

working hard on the road, raising these profiles. They've also started recording a second album in order to appease serious fans back home, Ireland. They say, will always be a priority. "We kind of wrote a record about getting out of our little hometown," says Deasy, "and now we realize we really love Dublin, and whenever we have a chance we like to go home."

SHAMMI BOZOI

Music | How cool are those pastel-coloured suit jackets?

They may be the ones who believe that '80s electro-funk died with the collapse of the Berlin Wall—and the explosion of New Edition's *Everyday* after Whaddy Brown's departure—but have yet to hear Chromeo, the most cerebral duo who are bringing the game back from the grave. Comprising former hip-hop producers Dave 1 (real name, Dave Muscklowich) and P-Flegg (real name, Patrick Gemayel), the band pays homage to the 'Me Decade' on its debut, *She's in Control* (V2), by name-checking super-fresh James and maker of white-boy soul, Stevie Wonder. The album is bound to inspire a mad dash to pastel-coloured suit jackets with three-quarter length sleeves or, at least, a little updating required. And Chromeo (the name, nays Dave 1, is imbued with a sense of homo-eroticism—*chromeo*—a combination of "chrome" and "romance") is fine with that. "Everything I listen to is from '83 to '93," says P-Flegg, 26. "Dave's the rock guy with the smart, poetic lyrics."

These friends for over a decade, the two men in pastel high and began playing together in various bands, touring Montreal's club circuit. In 2000, renowned Montreal DJ Tiga, head of Taris Recordings, asked them to cut a record. "We didn't know what to do," says Dave 1, now 25. "So he sat us down at his house and played us records. He schooled us, but we still didn't know what we were going to sound like. He said, 'Do what comes naturally.'



Dave 1 (left) and P-Flegg are stuck. It's an '80s time warp and loving it

"So we did." Although Dave 1 has since moved to New York City to pursue a Ph.D. in French literature, the two visit each other frequently and plan on recruiting a live touring band—"the Chromeos"—for their upcoming tour. "We'd love to be like Hall & Oates," Dave 1 explains. "Say what you want about them, but no one ever questions their intimacy. Hopefully, we'll be around long enough that no one will question ours either." *JONATHAN SARTORI*

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ANOTHER UNITY CRISIS?

Paul Martin says he has 'different views' on Quebec. Let's hear them.

"LET US UNDERSTAND that the ends never justify the means," Paul Martin told the House of Commons during the second day of the sponsorship-spiral firestorm last week. "National unity in this country is going to be preserved by thousands of Canadians who stand up for their country. It will not be preserved by people who violate the laws of this land."

I couldn't agree more. Canadians should always be standing up for their country. Here's one now:

"We're not going to rewrite the Constitution," Jean Lapierre told a television interviewer last week. "We're going to solve a problem in a completely pragmatic way. If we just respected the constitution of 1867, that would already be something."

Lapierre is important because he will be Martin's Quebec lieutenant if the Liberals win the next election. If it works out any measure, then Lapierre will interpret the constitution of 1867. Martin hasn't been explicit yet. Generally in Quebec, when somebody says the constitution is being flouted, they mean the federal government is intruding into the province's business—mostly health and education. This complaint isn't unique to Quebec; you sometimes hear it in every corner of the country. But in Quebec it's been at the centre of the political debate for decades.

So does Martin's federal government plan to spend billions of dollars on health and education? Not so far as I can tell. When it laid out its plan in its month-long Throne Speech, there were chapters on a "Partnership for a Healthy Canada" and "Lifelong Learning."

So did Lapierre mean anything? It's hard to know. So far I've had to know much about Martin's plan for Quebec, as far as the day-to-day operation of the complex federation that is Canada. That's because the main elements of the national unity strategy from Chrétien put in place after the new constitution of the 1995 referendum have already been dismantled. What a collapse! Hard to say



Chrétien's plan for saving the economy after 1995 can be summed up in a little at four words: Stephen Dion, Alfonso Gagliano. It's a mixed record. Gagliano was the minister in charge of overseeing the federal government's visibility in Quebec. The auditor general has just choice words about the way he did it. Now Gagliano is out of job. Martin canceled the sponsorship program on his first day as prime minister. Good.

Don't worry: most Canadians think questionable claims from Quebec separatist leaders. He helped lead a legal challenge to the Parti Québécois' plan for unilateral secession. Today Dion is out of cabinet and there is a vague secession in Martin's thoughts. Dion's letters were "confidential." As for the end product of the legal challenge, the Clarity Act, Lapierre says it's "useless." Martin responded that to say that he doesn't think the act is useless, he doesn't plan to use it.

The TV interviewer last week asked Lapierre if Dion is still an asset for Liberals in Quebec? Lapierre replied, with a smile, "It is—it is"—he used to be.

Well then, Gagliano gone, Dion gone. Good news and bad news. What replaces them?

The question matters because this can be a difficult country to hold together. Most of our prime ministers have faced a serious national unity crisis while in office. Robert Borden and Mackenzie King faced crises over military conscription during the First and Second World Wars. Lester Pearson had something Charles de Gaulle's "Vive le Québec Libre!" speech in 1967. Pierre Trudeau had the 1970 October Crisis and the 1980 referendum. Brian Mulroney had Meech Lake. Chrétien had the 1995 referendum.

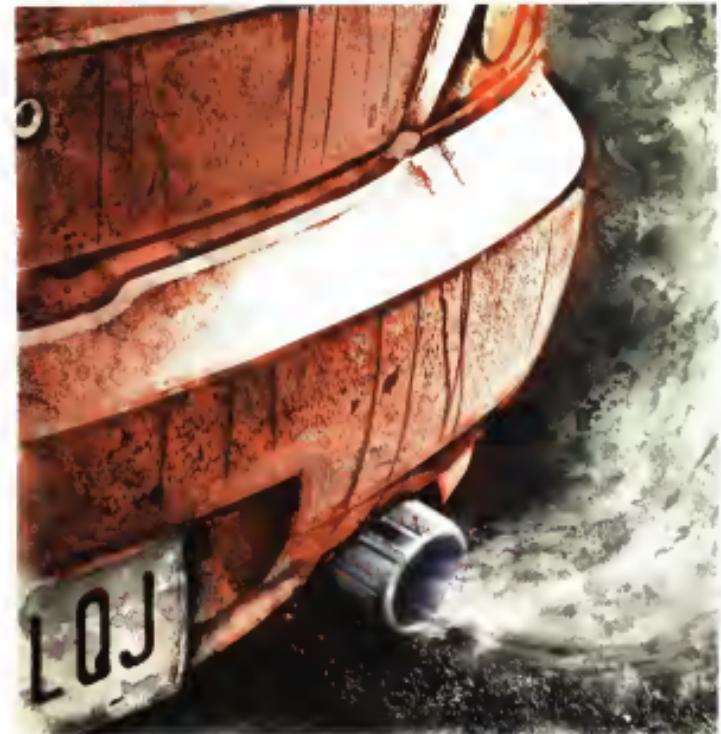
Given that track record, it's optimism at best—nearly at worst—for a prime minister to hope he can avoid yet another crisis by relying on his charming disposition. He is his. I can tell that's Martin's plan.

Last week Martin told journalists that he kept them in the dark about national unity initiatives because he had "different views on Quebec." Great. Different how? Martin's only explanation was that he has "always believed" "the best way to ensure national unity was to accomplish great goals" and to "build a consensus."

Goals as great as winning a world war? Starting a national pension system? Re-training Canada's conservation? Ending a generation of deficit spending? King, Pearson, Trudeau, and Chrétien stayed right with the national unity cause while they were accomplishing those goals. If Martin has plans radically more exciting than theirs, I haven't heard them.

Chrétien's national unity strategy was honest and sound in equal measure. Martin got the good and the bad with a happy face. "Different views" on Quebec? Let's hear them.

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